JOURNAL OF

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY

VOLUME III, PARTS 1-2, 1969-70

112

EDITED BY

Professor D. C. SIRCAR

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Our Journal

In issuing Vol. III (Parts 1-2, 1969-70) of our *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, we humbly seek the patronage and blessings of all who are interested in the advancement of Indological studies. Any suggestion to make the periodical more useful as also more worthy of the great name of our *alma mater*, from friends and well-wishers, will be gratefully received and carefully considered.

The Journal, edited by the Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, with the assistance of his colleagues, publishes papers on all aspects of the history and culture of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, particularly relating to the period down to the 13th century A.D., with special reference to the subjects included in the syllabii of the M.A. Examinations in Ancient Indian History and Culture and Archaeology, e.g., Prehistory and Protohistory; Culture of the Vedic, Epic, Purànic, Buddhist, Jain and Classical Sanskrit Literature; Political History; Cosmography and Historical Geography; Epigraphy and Numismatics; Architecture, Sculpture, Painting and Iconography; Spread of Indianism; Socio-Economic Life and Polity; Religious Life; Astronomy and Mathematics; Ethnology and Archaeology; etc. Our endeavour is to include in it only articles which are of a reasonably high standard and contain new facts, arguments or conclusions. Preference will be given to papers submitted by persons associated with the Departments of Ancient Indian History and Culture (including the Centre of Advanced Study) and Archaeology.

For the benefit of our students, the Journal reprints articles which are prescribed for them, but appeared long ago in periodicals not easily available today. Likewise, it publishes, for their use, important articles translated from other languages.

Our reviewers are advised to give an idea about the contents of the books, emphasising their merits, but without totally suppressing glaring defects. They may discuss the points on which they disagree with the authors, substantiating their views with arguments. But the reviews are not expected to be either too lengthy or too short nor should they contain mere vague praise or denunciation. The authors and publishers may please submit *two copies* of each book for review.

Communications relating to subscription, exchange relations, books for review and the publication of articles, advertisements, etc., will have to be addressed to the Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, 51|2, Hazra Road, Calcutta-19 (Telephone No. 47-9465). Payments have to be made in crossed cheques (drawn in favour of the Editor, *Journal of Ancient Indian History*). The annual subscription for the Journal has been fixed at Rs. 15.00 inland and $ 3.00 foreign and the advertisement rates are— Rs. 125.00 for full page, Rs. 75.00 for half page and Rs. 45.00 for quarter page.

JOURNAL OF

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY

Vol. III, Parts 1-2, 1969-70

Edited by

D. C. SIRCAR

Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, and Director of the Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC, Calcutta University.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF ARCHAEOLOGY

1 APR 1974

3621

Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture,
University of Calcutta,
51/2, Hazra Road, Calcutta-19.

1970

934
S/R

Printed in India.
Published by Sri Sibendranath Kanjilal,
Superintendent, Calcutta University Press,
48, Hazra Road, Calcutta-19,
and
Printed by Sri Kalidas Munshi at The Pooran Press,
21, Balaram Ghose Street, Calcutta-4.

Price Rs. 15.00

CONTENTS

Subject — *Page*

I. *Articles*, I-V

Beginning of Indological Studies *by* Mrs. Rosane Rocher . . . 1

Inscriptions on Terracotta Balls and a Clay Seal *by* Sarjug Prasad Singh . . . 17

Viṣṇu on Some Tripurā Coins *by* A. N. Lahiri . . . 23

Some Epigraphic and Manuscript Records (1. An Alleged Inscription of Khāravela; 2. Buddhist Dhāraṇis from China in Inscriptions and Manuscripts) *by* D. C. Sircar . . . 31

Archaeological Evidence on Cremation and Post-Cremation Burial in India *by* D. R. Das . . . 50

II. *Notes*, I-XIV

Orissa in Karnatak History and Literature *by* P. B. Desai . . . 72

Harisiṁhadeva and the Karṇāṭa Invasion of Nepal *by* Upendra Thakur . . . 77

The Licchavi Parisā of Vaiśālī *by* Shiv Nandan Mishra . . . 86

Dharmacakra-Jina in the Sārnāth Inscription of Kumāradevī *by* Dilip Kumar Biswas . . . 90

The Status of Govindagupta *by* Jagannath Agrawal . . . 101

Cosmogony in Pali Literature *by* Jnanranjan Haldar . . . 108

Mathurā Pillar Inscription of the Gupta Year 61 *by* P. R. Srinivasan . . . 113

The Meru *by* Chunilal Chakravarty . . . 123

Erotic Sculptures in Orissan Temples *by* Adris Banerji . . . 130

Indological Notes (4. Date of the Mankuwar Image Inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I; 5. *Nihilapati*=*Nihelapati;* 6. Garga-Yavana and Kāla-Yavaṇa; 7. Vidiśā Jain Image Inscriptions of Rāmagupta) *by* D. C. Sircar . . . 133

Glimpses of Social Life in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* *by* A. K. Chatterjee . . . 152

Vaṭuka-Bhairava on a Seal *by* Sm. Chitrarekha Gupta . . . 157

Kedāra *by* Samaresh Bandyopadhyay . . . 163

Subject *Page*

Indrāṇī Image from Kūrmūn (Burdwan District)
by Abhijit Ghosh 165

III. *Translations,* I-III

The Mahābhāṣya and Kṛṣṇa-drama
by M. Winternitz, *translated by* P. Ghosh . 172

History of Buddhism in India
by Lama Tāranātha, *translated by* Harinath De . 182

Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry
by G. Bühler, *translated by* V. S. Ghate . . 193

IV. *Lectures at the Centre of Advanced Study,* XIII-XVIII 238

V. *Monthly Seminars at the Centre of Advanced Study,* XXII-XXXVIII 251

VI. *Reviews of Books,* I-XVI 298

(1) N. R. Banerjee—*The Iron Age in India* (D. K. Chakravarti); (2) R. N. Mehta and S. M. Chowdhary—*Excavation at Devnimori* (D. K. Chakravarti); (3) G. D. Sontheimer and H. V. Stietencron—*German Indology—Past and Present* (D. C. Sircar); (4) C. Vidyāvinoda Bhaṭṭācārya—*Śilālipi-saṁgraha* (Sm. C. Gupta); (5) V. V. Mirashi—*Studies in Indology,* Vol. IV (Sm. B. Lahiri); (6) C. H. Biddulph—*Coins of the Pāṇḍyas* (A. N. Lahiri); (7) A. C. Sarkar—*Koc-Rājbaṁśī Jātir Itihās āru Saṁskṛti* (D. C. Sircar); (8) S. K. Maity—*Economic Life in Northern India in the Gupta Period* (D. C. Sircar); (9) B. Bhattacharya—*Studies in Nibandhas* (D. R. Das); (10) H. Sarkar—*Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India* (D. R. Das); (11) Sm. M. Jauhari—*Col aur unkī Kalā* (C. D. Chatterjee); (12) Sm. M. Jauhari—*Prācīn Bhāratmeṁ Varṇāśram-vyavasthā* (C. D. Chatterjee); (13) M. R. Majmudar—*Gujarat—Its Art Heritage* (D. R. Das); (14) P. B. Desai—*Basavēśvara and His Times* (N. N. Bhattacharya); (15) N. Dutt—*Buddhist Sects of India* (Sm. K. Saha); (16) A. K. Majumdar—*Caitanya: His Life and Doctrine* (N. N. Bhattacharya)

VII. *Notices of Books and Periodicals*
by D. R. Das

A.—Books 318

B.—Periodicals 323

VIII. *Obituary* 341

(1) V. S. Agrawala (L. K. Tripathi); (2) B. C. Law (D. C. Sircar); (3) B. B. Majumdar (B. P. Mazumdar); (4) G. Coedès (A. K. Chakravarti)

IX. *Our Department, Session 1969-70* . . . 355

X. *Index* 361

XI. *Addenda et Corrigenda* . . . 392

XII. *Reprint*

The Origin of the Buddha Image
by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy . . . 395

XIII. *Advertisements* . . . . I-IV

ARTICLES

THE BEGINNING OF INDOLOGICAL STUDIES*

MRS. ROSANE ROCHER

Traditionally, the birth date of Indology, i.e. the study of Indian culture by scholars other than Pandits working along traditional lines, is given as the 15th January, 1784, the day on which Sir William Jones founded the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. The Asiatic Society was indeed the main body that spread the interest in Indian culture all around the world; and its founder, Sir William Jones, was for a long time the most admired Oriental scholar. Before the foundation of the Asiatic Society, however, and before Sir William Jones, there had been Indological researches. They were not as brilliant, and not as widely known, as those that emanated later from the Asiatic Society; but they were the first determined efforts in that direction. I would personally push back the birth date of Indology by about twelve years. I would like to start from the 17th of February, 1772, the day on which Warren Hastings arrived in Calcutta from Madras, to become Governor of Bengal Although Hastings was not a scholar himself, his influence and his patronage were to be determinant for the beginnings of Indology.

As soon as he assumed the Governorship, Hastings formulated the policy that British laws and British values should not be imposed on the Indians. He wanted Indians to observe their own laws and their own traditions. In the case of the Indian Muslims, there was no great difficulty

* [From a lecture delivered at the Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC, Calcutta University, on 19.2.70.—Ed.]

for the British to learn what these laws and traditions were; there was the Quran, and there were the codes of Muslim law that had been applied under the Mughul administration in India. But in the case of the great majority of the people, the Hindus, Hastings had to fight a double battle, one in Calcutta, and one in London. In India, the Pandits, who were the guardians of the tradition, considered their Dharmaśāstras as sacred texts not to be divulged to non-Hindus. It took all the patience, the diplomacy, and the heart-felt sympathy of Hastings for Indian culture to persuade the Pandits to make a Code of Hindu laws available. In London, on the other hand, Hastings had to convince the authorities of the East India Company that the Hindus did indeed have laws; people then still laboured under the mistaken idea, already recorded in the Greek descriptions of India, that the Hindus had no written laws. Both in Calcutta and in London, Hastings' perseverance prevailed. He convinced eleven Pandits to assemble in Calcutta, from May, 1773, until February, 1775, to compile a vast treatise of Hindu laws. But to convince the authorities in England, a treatise composed in Sanskrit was not enough; he had to show them an English text. To translate directly from Sanskrit into English, however, was impossible. The Pandits did not know English, and the Britishers did not know Sanskrit. An itermediary had to be found, and Persian, the administrative language then in general use, was thought of.

The task of translating the Code of Hindu laws from Persian into English was entrusted to Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, civil servant of the East India Company, who was only 22 at the time (he was born in 1751). Halhed was placed in charge of the whole project. The Pandits who composed the Code were paid by Halhed from Hastings' personal money, not from public funds. Hastings gave Halhed strict instructions that the whole project had to

be completed fast, for he was afraid that influential persons in England, who had never been in India, and knew nothing about the country, would force British laws on India. Halhed worked with all deli erate speed, beginning to translate while the Pandits were still redacting the last chapters of the Code. Whereas the Pandits completed the original Sanskrit text as late as the end of February, 1775, the English translation, based on the Persian intermediary, was finished by August 5 (5 months later). The English translation was sent to London, and published in 1766 by the East India Company at the request of Warren Hastings. It bore the title: "A Code of Gentoo Laws, or Ordinations of the Pundits".

We may, if you wish, discuss later the relationship between the Sanskrit original, the Persian intermediary, and the English printed text. There are some intricate and interesting problems there. Let us leave them aside at present, for they do not primarily bear upon the scholarly activities of N. B. Halhed. After all, the Code was composed by the Pandits at the request of Warren Hastings; Halhed only happened to be the instrument selected by Hastings for the English translation. But Halhed's own contribution, the long Preface prefixed to the volume, excited much more interest in the West than the Code itself. Even today, it makes quite interesting reading; and it is an even more amazing piece of work, we think, on what Halhed's sources were. He had a thorough knowledge of Persian, but practically no knowledge of Sanskrit. He had tried to persuade the Pandits, who composed the Code, to teach him Sanskrit; but those were the days when the Pandits refused to teach the language of the gods to Mlecchas. It was only shortly before he finished his work that he found a Pandit, who, in spite of great opposition from members of his class, accepted to teach him some Sanskrit, Most of Halhed's information, therefore, rests

on Persian translations of Sanskrit texts, and on what he could learn from casual conversations with learned Hindus. We should, therefore, not be surprized to see this Preface contain both correct and erroneous data.

A feature which might strike you less strongly than it does me, is that, throughout, the Sanskrit words are distorted to reproduce a Bengali pronunciation ; *Sanskrit* becomes *Shanscrit*, *Veda* becomes *Beid*, *Yājñavalkya* becomes *Joge-Bulk*, etc. On the whole, however, the picture of the Sanskrit language he draws is remarkably accurate, and shows that he had used traditional grammars. On the other hand, what he says of the Vedas is incorrect. He believes them to be written "not in verse.........but in a kind of measured prose". There was great perplexity then as to the nature of the Vedas. The Pandits were extremely careful that no copy of their most sacred texts should fall into the hands of a foreigner. This caused great frustration to the Western Indologist, since whatever they were told was declared to rest on the authority of the Veda ; but they were barred from access to the original texts. One thing, at least, Halhed had correctly observed : "from the many obsolete terms used in the Beids, from the conciseness and obscurity of their dialect, and from the particularity of the modulation in which they must be recited, they are now hardly intelligible ; very few of the most learned Pundits, and those only who have employed many years of painful study upon this one task, pretend to have the smallest knowledge of the originals, which are now also become extremely scarce and difficult to be found."

But, rather than list whatever in Halhed's Preface is correct or incorrect, it is more interesting to see what his attitude was, and what kind of reaction he had to face from traditional circles in England. When two civilizations come in contact, problems arise for the intelligent, for those

who have an open mind and a sympathetic attitude. They inevitably incur an adverse reaction from the traditional circles, whose complacency and intellectual lethargy they threaten. The hostility which such Hindu modernists as Raja Ram Mohan Roy encountered is well known; but not enough attention has been paid to the other side of the coin—the animosity which Western Orientalists experienced from the Christian traditional circles. Of course, the days when haresy was punished were long over, and Orientalists did not face any physical danger; but the social pressure was still there. It was no light matter to be attacked in the press as one rejecting the authority of the Bible. This happened to Halhed. The Reverend George Costard, who was the priest of a village near the country residence of the Halhed family, published a letter criticizing the Preface to the "Code of Gentoo Laws". The concluding paragraph of that letter is illustrative enough. The Reverend closes by saying: "And I make no doubt but when you come to reconsider some things, too hastily advanced, from a too great reliance on the authority of your Bramins, your own good sense will direct you to reform what in Europe, the most enlightened part of the world, cannot fail of being looked on as very exceptionable."

In his Preface, Halhed had been careful to include a few expressions such as "our own revealed truth", and "Hindu superstition, and prejudices", and in fact he never ceased to be a Christian. But this was not enough, for what he said was extraordinarily objective, and, as such, not acceptable to the traditionalists. There were, at the time, only two safe ways to treat foreign religions: one was to dismiss them as pure nonsense; the other was to try to interpret them in the light of Christian theology, showing that pagan myths were partial and imperfect illustrations of the same basic and universal truth, i.e., of course, the Christian truth.

Halhed explicitly objected to that attitude. He insisted upon the necessity to study a religion from the inside, not with the help of foreign concepts. He expressly stated that "we are not justified in grounding the standard and criterion of our examination of the Hindu religion upon the known and infallible truths of our own, because the opposite party would either deny the first principles of our argument, or insist upon an equal right on their side to suppose the veracity of their own Scriptures uncontrovertible." And he added: "It may possibly be owing to this vanity of reconciling every other mode of worship to some kind of conformity with our own, that allegorical constructions, and forced allusions to a mystic morality, have been constantly foistered in upon the plain and literal context of every pagan mythology."

The point on which Halhed was most attacked, however, was not his objectivity toward Hinduism, but his reliance on the antiquity of Hindu traditions. This clashed with the authority of Biblical chronology generally accepted in the West. Here, again, Halhed pays lip service to the Mosaic chronology; but he decidedly inclines toward Hindu chronology. He says, "Though we may come to the perusal of their records, armed with every argument, and fortified even to prejudice against the admission of their pretensions, at the same time placing the most implicit reliance upon the Mosaic chronology as generally received, yet their plausible accounts of those remote ages, and their undeviating confidence in their own assertions, never can fail to make some impression upon us, in proportion as we gain a clearer insight to them." The distance between Biblical chronology and Hindu chronology was enormous. The Biblical chronology reckoned only a few thousand years between the creation and the beginning of the Christian era; but the Hindu chronology displayed

staggering spans of time. Halhed was fascinated, until the end of his life, by the system of the four Yugas. We find in his Notes computations of time recurring time and again.

Also shocking to those who relied exclusively on the authority of the Bible was Halhed's contention that Hindu traditions owed nothing to Hebraic traditions, whereas he put forward the hypothesis that a reverse influence might have taken place. He says: "We cannot possibly find grounds to suppose that the Hindus received the smallest article of their religion or jurisprudence, from the Institutes of Moses, though it is not utterly impossible, that the doctrines of Hindostan might have been early transplanted into Egypt, and thus have become familiar to Moses." It was the mistake of the time to think constantly in terms of influence and borrowing. There was a general belief then that language, writing, institutions, and civilization generally, originated from one part of the world and spread from there. The discusssion was often confined to the question: What country has the best claim to be the origin of civilization?—Was it Egypt, Israel, Mesopotamia, India, China? It is a rather recent discovery that there were different and independent civilizations, that could afford materials for comparison, rather than filiation.

Another point that is striking in Halhed's Preface is his endeavour to defend certain aspects of the Code that were unpalatable to the Westerners. The latter part of the Preface is expressly devoted to that purpose. As far as the cruelty of some penalties was concerned, such as mutilations, etc., he had no great difficulty; it was easy to show that the Hebraic laws were not milder. But there were difficult points, on which he himself was obviously uneasy, and on which his performance is somewhat awkward. There was the question of *satī*, long before the practice actually became a public issue. There was an even more shocking item,

in the Western view: the question of the privileges of Brāhmṇas. The objection of Westerners in that matter is not so much that such privileges were observed in practice, but that inequality should be raised to the status of an actual principle of law. On both issues, Halhed reasoned that they were generally accepted in India, even by those who were the victims, i.e., women in the case of *satī*, and non-Brāhmaṇas in the case of privileges for Brāhmaṇas. If such was the situation, both aspects should be allowed to persist. For Halhed, the criterion was, not acceptability to the West, but the degree of acceptance in India itself.

Halhed wrote an answer to the criticisms voiced by the Reverend George Costard; but he did not publish it. It is preserved in manuscript form in the British Museum. I have a microfilm of the text, and I intend to publish it, for it is an extremely curious performance. Instead of repenting, as the Reverend had hoped he would do, Halhed is even more abrupt. Gone are the perfunctory references to "our own revealed truth"; Halhed now formulates explicitly the principle that scholarship and faith should remain separate. He declares: "That a man may propose doubts as a philosopher, without being called to account for them as a Christian."

He comes back with more insistance to the problem of the conflicting chronologies. He boldly says: "If we lay aside our Faith for a moment, and reason from analogy only, the Gentoo system of the Triteca Jogue seems much more of a piece with that period of time which we know to have elapsed since the Deluge, than does the Mosaic account of the antedeluvian world." He is more convinced than ever of the antiquity and the originality of Hindu traditions. He rejects the idea that India was ever influenced by Greece or Rome. On the contrary, he

declares : "I should much rather suppose that the Greeks received great part of their knowledge from Hindostan, if I could but form a probable conjecture of the way by which it could have travelled—for I have already dropped a hint as if I suspected that the Greeks had some tincture of Shanskrit before the arrival of Cadmus among them (i e., before the era of the introduction of Phoenician letters)." You see that the same reasoning of the migration of civilization reappears. The discussion is in terms of priority ; never is the possibility considered that the same discoveries could be made independently at different times in different parts of the world.

But a new theme also appears, which is very curious. Mention is often made of the permanence, or even immutability of Hindu institutions through long centuries ; but on this occasion, Halhed uses it as an argument to accept that permanence for an even longer period, and to push back its origins even father in the past. He is extremely eloquent on the subject. He says : "But should a country be found, where the native bent of temper, and constitutional pertinacity of the whole people, perpetually leads them to tread in the very footsteps of their fathers with the most rigid exactness—Where the system of religions, the nature of their government and perhaps even the peculiarity of their climate, unite to ensure an equal stability to their opinions, and lead them universally to reject every invention however useful, and every example however laudable, which has not entirely and all in all originated from among themselves : where the first mention which foreign history shall have made of their principles, customs, arts, religion, policy and even dress, corresponds most minutely, at the distance of some thousand years, with the particularities of the same people at this day : There, and there only, we may hope to find a clue for

tracing human nature to its original source; and as the collateral information which we have received of them agrees so well, as far as it reaches, with the accounts they give of themselves; and with facts of which we have every day ocular demonstration: We may there be allowed perhaps to extend our researches upon analogy, and even to give some degree of credit to the more distant and unattainable eras to which they so boldly refer us, after our collateral accounts fail us."

More than three years separate the Preface to the Gentoo Code from the answer to Costard's criticisms. The first was written in August 1775, the latter in the last months of 1778, in the Cape of Good Hope, when Halhed was going home back from India. During these three years he had gone on reading Persian, and studying Bengali and Sanskrit. In the Summer of 1778, just before he sailed, he published in Hoogly the first "Grammar of the Bengali Language". I must observe that it was more than a Bengali Grammar; it was also an introduction to Sanskrit. As he realized himself, he had introduced much more Sanskrit than was strictly necessary; but he says: "I was a little seduced by the novelty of the subject."

A Grammar, of course, was less controversial than a legal treatise. Yet, an opinion voiced in the Preface was received with criticism in England. Halhed had come, in the Preface to his Bengali Grammar, to an opinion he had already voiced in the Preface to the Gentoo Code. He wanted the British to follow in India the policy which the Romans had observed toward the nations that composed the Roman empire, and particularly Greece: they learned the Greek language, and adopted some of the Greek laws, and whatever in Greek mythology was reconcilable with the Roman religion. This was unacceptable to a reviewer, who contemptuously declared that "England would never

condescend to employ a foreign dialect as the medium of either commercial or political intercourse with people whom she regarded as her subjects."

Halhed took home a collection of Indian manuscripts. Although the collection is impressive, he would have had more, if he had the opportunity. In his unpublished answer to Costard, which I have mentioned earlier, he expresses the impossibility of obtaining the most sacred texts. He describes the situation in the following way: "Though they keep up all the prohibited volumes with the most attentive caution, and ever eagerly deny having them in their possession, they are perpetually in terror lest some weak or unworthy member of their order should be tempted by hope of gain to divulge the mysterious treasure." Among the books he regrets not to possess, he mentions "their Poorans or sacred histories (for these latter I could never persuade them to communicate)." This, by way, explains a mistake he committed in the same document, when he said that "the Indians (whose histories overflow with accounts of partial floods) have not, that I could find, any tradition of an universal deluge." Reading the *Matsyapurāṇa* would have helped.

Halhed's collection, thus, does not contain the Vedas, Purāṇas or Dharmaśāstras ; these texts were too sacred to be obtained at the time. What we find are mainly grammars, *alaṅkāra* texts, and epics, as well as translations of Sanskrit texts in Persian, Bengali and Hindi.

It is interesting to note that all texts quoted in the Preface to the Gentoo Code belonged to his collection: *Bhagavadgītā*, *Mahāvākyavivaraṇa*, *Kāvyaprakāśa*, the Grammar *Sārasvataprakriyā*, and Dārā Shikūh's Persian translation of 50 Upaniṣads. A manuscript of the Persian version of the Code of Gentoo Laws also belongs to his collection ; this is the very manuscript from which the English trans-

lation was made. Similarly, the Bengali version of the *Mahābhārata*, quoted extensively in his Bengali Grammar, belongs to his collection of manuscripts.

One MS at least was given to Halhed by Warren Hastings to help him in his Oriental studies: we find among Halhed's MSS a treatise in Persian on the cosmogony, the geographical and astronomical systems, and the mythology and historical legends of the Hindus compiled from Sanskrit sources by Karpārām, a Munshi employed by the East India Company for the Governor-General. Halhed himself was actively engaged in collecting MSS. Their colophons indicate that some MSS were copied for him. Such is the case with an abridgment of the *Hujjat-ul Hind*, a Persian treatise demonstrating the superiority of Islam over Hinduism, that was copied for Halhed in 1774. Several Sanskrit MSS were also copied for him. A colophon at the end of a MS of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* states that it was copied for Halhed by the Kashmirian Pandit Kāśinātha. Several other MSS were copied by the same Kashmiri hand: in 1774, the *Pañcaratnagītā*, and in 1776, a nearly complete *Mahābhārata* in 8 volumes. By the same hand also the grammatical treatise *Sārasvataprakrīyā*. This was later used by Halhed's friend, the more famous Indologist Charles Wilkins, as a basis for his Sanskrit Grammar, published in London in 1808. Halhed's MSS of Sanskrit Grammars all indicate a close relationship with Wilkins. Wilkins' initials are found on Halhed's copies of the *Mugdhabodha* and the *Siddhāntakaumudī*. When Halhed left India in July 1778 to return to Europe, he seems to have asked Wilkins to have other MSS copied for him. In June, 1779, a copy of an Arabic-Persian Dictionary was made for Halhed from a Wilkins MS. And in August, 1779, a copy of Ferishta's *History of India* was made for Halhed by order of Wilkins.

Halhed collected a few other MSS during a second, very short, visit to India, from July, 1784, to January, 1785.

Among them, we find three interesting works, inscribed as "the gift of Lala Herjis Ray". The three MSS offered by him to Halhed are all Persian reworkings of Sanskrit texts: abridged versions of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* and of the *Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśatikā*, and a translation of the *Purāṇārtha-prakāśa*, written by Pandit Rādhākānta at the request of Warren Hastings (the Sanskrit original is to be found in Hastings' Collection of MSS).

Other Persian MSS came to Halhed from his father-in-law, who was the Director of the Dutch colony of Chinsura. It is amazing to see how many of the Western officials in India collected MSS in that period. It is basically from these very MSS that present day Western public collections are made. For most of the MSS, however, we do not know how they came into Halhed's hand.

Halhed's collection of Oriental MSS was acquired by the British Museum in two parts. In May, 1795, the Museum bought from a book eller 69 MSS which he had purchased from Halhed. The remaining 24 MSS were bought directly from Halhed one year later, in March, 1796. At that time, Halhed, who had invested his once very large fortune in French assignats, was in deep financial difficulties. He had been forced to sell his house ; now was the turn of his collection of MSS.

The MSS sold by Halhed in 1795 constitute the bulk of his Oriental collection. They are all plain MSS ; they do not include any papers of a personal nature. His Sanskrit MSS consist mainly of popular texts: a nearly complete *Mahābhārata*, a MS of the *Bhagavadgītā* with the commentary *Subodhinī*, a sectarian collection of the *5 Gems of the Mahābhārata*. There is also a minor Vedantic treatise—the *Mahāvākyavivaraṇa*, an *alaṅkāra* text—the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, and three Sanskrit Gram ars.

His Hindi MSS contain two major works: Jāysī's *Padmāvat*, and Tulsīdās' version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Here

also, we find sectarian Vaiṣṇava literature: a translation of the 10th Skandha of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* in Braj Bhāṣā, and poems in Braj Bhāṣā associated with the worship of Kṛṣṇa. The remaining texts are mainly *alaṅkāra* and other treatises on poetics. In Bengali, we have poems: the *Vidyāsundara*, and the poetical works of Kavikaṅkaṇa. More important from an antiquarian point of view, are Bengali versions of both the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata.*

The great bulk of Halhed's Collection, however, were Persian MSS. This is not surprising, since Persian was the Oriental language he knew best.

The first set of MSS sold to the British Museum contains very few of Halhed's favourite texts, i.e., Persian texts giving an insight of Hindu doctrines. We find among them a copy of the Persian translation of 50 Upaniṣads ordered by Dārā Shikūh, and one copy of a Persian abridgment of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha.*

The MSS that compose the second set sold to the British Museum have a completely different character, and a very personal one. These are mainly the MSS on which Halhed worked, and most of them contain copious marginal notes. We can see from such notes in these MSS that, since his return from India, Halhed had constantly pursued his Oriental studies. We find no such notes in his Sanskrit MSS, for Halhed was never able to read Sanskrit without the assistance of a Pandit ; he completely abandoned Sanskrit when he left India. But he persevered in his studies of Persian texts dealing with Indian culture. We find extensive marginal notes in the Persian histories of India, and in the Persian versions of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, the *Siṃhāsanadvātriṁśatikā*, and the mathematical treatise *Līlāvatī.*

In January, 1787, Halhed was working on the geographical aspects of the compilation made by Karparām from

Sanskrit sources. In May, 1787, he completed a translation of Dārā Shikūh's Persian version of the Upaniṣads, with a Preface. This was an enormous work: 332 densely written pages. In December, 1788, he translated the Persian version of the *Purāṇārthaprakāśa*. In September, 1791, he was interested in Hindu cosmogony as described in Karpārām's Persian compilation from Sanskrit sources. In October-November of the same year, he worked on a translation of the Persian version of the 10th Skandha of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. Later in the same month of November, 1791, he made abstracts of the *Mahābhārata*, from the Persian version. Some of his later writings, and particularly the Preface to his translation of Dārā Shikūh's Upaniṣads, are rather extravagant. He had totally forgotten the excellent principle, he had himself expressed in his first publication, that religions should be interpreted as factually as possible; without attempts at symbolizing or sublimatization. In his mystic writings, on the contrary, he made sweeping comparison between myths in Hindu, Greek, Roman, Hebraic and Christian religions.

In the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal there is an enormous folio (European MS 41), containing notes on, translation of and extracts from the Persian version of the *Mahābhārata*. It is written very much in the same style as Halhed's Notebook preserved in the British Museum, and contains plenty of dates, that show most of the work to have been done in the three years 1811-13.

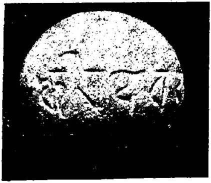
Halhed was probably one of the first Westerners who aimed at an objective study of Indian culture. His interest was no longer that of the missionary who tried to learn more about Hindu institutions in order to find a more adequate way to convert the people to Christianity. His interest was no longer that of the Western traveller to far away and strange parts of the world, looking for materials

for a fascinating and exotic travel account. With Halhed, we reach the stage at which a foreigner is genuinely interested in Indian civilization, and tries to find out more about it for no other reason than that he is interested in it.

I have tried to show that this genuine interest was not always appreciated in the West. No one had objected to the efforts of the missionaries whose sole goal was to spread Christianity among the pagans. People in Europe had read avidly the strange and often unbelievable stories by travellers who never thought of questioning their own Western values. But now comes a man who studies Indian culture as something valuable in itself, as valuable as Western civilization. This created a shock. Fortunately, this shock was not to last long and, as a result, h is often been overlooked; but the shock had been there and Halhed was part of it.

Finally, I also wanted to show how limited and haphazard the sources for the study of Indian culture were at the beginning. Halhed realized that a knowledge of Sanskrit was the key; he wanted to study it, but could not go very far. His limitations were to incite, only a few years later, men like Wilkins, Hamilton, Jones, etc., to study Sanskrit and consult the original sources. I have laid stress on Halhed's collection of MSS to show how important Persian sources have been in the early study of Hinduism.

It is not difficult to find fault with many of the data contained in Halhed's writings. Our knowledge of ancient Indian culture is so much farther advanced. But we would never be where we are in our studies, had it not been for the honest efforts of men like Halhed.



Figs. 1-4 —Terracotta Balls (p. 17)

Fig. 5 —Clay Seal (p. 20)

Inscribed Stone from Zampi (pp. 28, 284, 388-89)

INSCRIPTIONS ON TERRACOTTA BALLS AND A CLAY SEAL

Sarjug Prasad Singh

I

Four terracotta balls were found at the village of Belāvar, about 6 miles to the east of Jahanabad, a Sub-Divisional town in the Gaya District of Bihar. The name of the village is said to be Vilvabhadra or Belabhadra. It is situated on a huge mound (about 20 feet high) surrounded by five old tanks called Chandokhar (or Chandrapokhar), Sivaiyā, Tārakeśvarī-pokhar, Parameśvarī-pokhar and Bhaṭṭokhar. Antiquities like early terracotta figurines, coins (silver punch-marked and cast copper), clay sealings, stone and terracotta beads and potsherds of black and red, N.B.P. and gray types are often discovered from the mound.[1] Remnants of old brick structures have been exposed by the rains here and there on its slope.

All the terracotta balls in question, which are surface collection, are hand-made and solid, without any painting or decoration. Two of them are made of very fine paste and their surface is smooth. One of the balls (No. 1) is 5.7" in circumference and 307 grammes in weight. It bears a single line of writing—*Devacandramitrabaṭu* in characters of the Gupta age. It may be noted in this connection that the name-ending *baṭu* is not known to have been used as a family designation ; but it seems to be the same as *baṭuka* meaning a *Brahmacārin* (a student).[2] The person does not

1 A large number of images of Brāhmaṇical gods and goddesses, discovered at the place, are collected by the local people in front of a temple enshrining a Śiva-liṅga and also on the summit of the said mound.

2 According to Monier-Williams, the term *baṭu* (same as *baṭuka*)

appear to have anything to do with the Mitras of Bihar.[3] The eastern variety of the letter *ma*[4] used in our epigraph corresponds to its form in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (c. 335-76 A D.)[5] and the Karitalai plate of *Mahārāja* Jayanātha of the year 174 (593-94 A.D.).[6]

Ball No. 2 is 2.9″ in circumference and 203 grammes in weight. The inscription, in characters of about the 8th or 9th century A.D., reads *Kīradevasya*, 'of Kīradeva'.

Ball No. 3 is not properly fired and its surface is corroded. It is 6.3″ in circuumference and 439 grammes in weight. The single line of writing, in characters similar to those of No. 2, reads *Mahīdharadevasya*, 'of Mahīdharadeva'.

Ball No. 4 is not well-baked and is blackish in colour. It weighs 347 grammes and is 2.5″ in circumference. The

---

means a boy, lad, stripling, youth (specially a young Brāhmaṇa; but also applied to an adult). *Baṭu* also means a class of priests.

3 Of the Mitra rulers known from literary and archaeological sources, Indrāgnimitra, Brahmamitra, Indramitra, Bṛhaspatimitra, Bhūmimitra and Ārya-Viśākhamitra are associated with Bihar. The first two are known from some of the inscriptions at Bodhgaya (Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, p. 15; Barua, *Gaya and Buddhagaya*, Vol. II, pp. 67, 69). Indramitra is known from the coin discovered at Kumrahar (*ASI*, A.R., 1912-13, pp. 84 ff). For Bṛhaspatimitra of the Hāthigumphā inscription, see Sircar in *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. Majumdar, p. 214. He was the king of Magadha according to the said Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela (Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, p. 209). Bhūmimitra is known from the coin unearthed at Kumrahar (Altekar and Mishra, *Rep. Kum. Excav.*, 1951-55, p. 98, Pl. LXXB, No. 19). The Kailvan Brāhmī inscription (186 A.D.) shows that Ārya-Viśākhamitra was ruling over the Patna-Gaya region (Ancient Magadha) in the last quarter of the 2nd century. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 229 ff.

4 Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 2.

5 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Pl. XLV.

6 Fleet, *CII*, Vol. III, No. 26, Pl. XVI, p. 117.

inscription reads *Śivakara-Somadevayoḥ* 'of Śivakara and Somadeva'.

An examination of the terracotta balls under discussion shows that the inscriptions were engraved before the balls were dried-up and becked, i.e. when the clay was still soft. The weights of the balls are irregular and they do not correspond to the traditional weight standard and hence they were possibly not used as weights.

It may be pointed out that stone and terracotta balls of various sizes are often discovered at ancient sites;[7] but they are rarely inscribed. The uninscribed balls of small sizes were generally used for playing while the bigger ones may have been used as missiles.

Like stone and copper-plate, clay objects (tablets, plaques, etc.), which were much cheaper and more easily procurable, were possibly used, as suggested by D.C. Sircar, to record minor donations of poor people.[8] Sircar now suggests to me that the present terracotta balls may have served a similar purpose and were probably offered by the donees

---

7 Cf. *Indian Archaeology,* 1961-62, p. 5. As many as 88 terracotta balls of different sizes were dug out in the excavations at Kumrahar (cf. Altekar and Mishra, *op. cit.*, p. 125, Pl. LVIII). According to the excavators, the balls may have been used either as pebbles or as pellets for sling or sling-bow. One of the balls from Kumrahar is decorated by 14 dotted lines; but none of them are inscribed. Terracotta balls have also been discovered from early sites in Sumer, Egypt and the Indus valley. An uninscribed ball of stiff earth or clay was discovered below the Vajrāsana throne in the Mahabodhi temple at Bodhgaya (cf. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 20). During 1961-62, 44 circular balls of terraccotta and 34 of stone were discovered in the excavations at Ahar. Cf. Sankalia, Deo and Ansari, *Excavations at Ahar*, pp. 194, 207.

8 A terracotta plaque published by Sircar, records the gift of a lotus (possibily of gold) by three persons named Sādhi. Eci and Āka at the feet of Kēśavā (a god or goddess; probably Viṣṇu) at a place called Nagalḍāmaka in North Bihar. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 86.

(whose names are inscribed on the balls) together with their offerings as a sort of label to their gifts to some deity. This seems to indicate the existence of a religious establishment at Bhelāvar during the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods.

II

The village of Ḍhibrā lies one and half miles to the west of the Masaurhi Police Station in the Patna District of Bihar. It is a Ṭolā of the village of Koriyānvā (situated about quarter of a mile to the north-west of Ḍhibrā) and inhabited by scheduled caste and scheduled tribe people. The name Ḍhibrā, also Goḍhpar, is applied to it because it is situated on a high mound. The mound is extensive and is surrounded on all sides by a deep moat. It may be noted that during recent years the villagers have discovered a number of images, e.g., of Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Tārā, Bodhisattva, Umā-Maheśvara and Gaṇeśa, here and there on the mound, while digging foundation trenches for the construction of walls or ploughing their field.[9]

In the centre of the village on the summit of the mound is a small circular platform where villagers have collected a large number of mutilated images for worship, and it is believed that there was an old shrine at this spot. A few yards to the north-west of the platform, an old well, octagonal in shape, was recently discovered. About 600 yards to the east of the village lies a large tank (some portion of it is now filled-up) called Gaṅguṭā, said to have been excavated by a demon, and the local people believe that it was an abode of the Rākṣasas.

9 It is said that some of the images discovered at Ḍhibrā were taken away by the local B.D.O. for the Patna Museum.

It may be mentioned in this connection that there are a number of villages like Maṇicak,[10] Tāregnā[11], Sagunī,[12] Hānsāḍīh,[13] etc., having old ruins, within a radius of two miles.

A clay seal, in the possession of Sri Sukhdeo Singh of the village of Koriyānvā, is said to have been discovered at the village of Ḍhibrā (Ḍhibrāpar). It is a circular piece measuring 1.7″ in diameter. Not being properly baked, it is broken at the lower edge. In the centre, it bears the figure of Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi seated on a lotus throne (*padmāsana*) in *sukhāsana*. He wears a crown (*kirīṭa-mukuṭa*) and a necklace. Matted locks of hair are seen hanging down from his head which is slightly inclined towards the right. On the back of the head is the *prabhāmaṇḍala* (halo). There is a circle of dots along a curved line around the head. To the right of the head is the representation of a votive *stūpa*. The Bodhisattva holds a lotus with a long stalk in his left hand resting on the back of the throne while his right hand rests on his right knee and opens to the front in the *varada-mudrā*.

The striking feature of the figure is its modelling, and

---

10 The village lies about half a mile to the east of the Masaurhi Police Station. A few years ago, an image of Viṣṇu of the Pāla age was discovered here by a villager while digging earth in a field. The image has been installed in a local temple.

11 This village lies close to the north of Maṇicak. There lies on the southern fringe of the village a circular mound about 150 ft. in diameter and 20 ft. in height. In 1925-26, a hoard of silver punch-marked coins was discovered here. Cf. *ASI*, A.R., 1925-26, p. 168; 1930-34, p. 302.

12 It lies about two miles to the south-east of the Masaurhi Police Station. A number of Brāhmaṇical images of the early medieval period (now in the collection of Sri Prabhakar Sharma of the village) have been recently discovered while digging a well in the village.

13 The village lies two miles to the west of the Masaurhi Police Station.

it can be compared with the best sculptures of Eastern India in style and execution.[14] It must be noted that the artist has attained remarkable success in giving a divine touch and infusing spritual emotion in the figure. The modelling of the body is graceful and the face expressive. The *varada-mudrā* gives the idea of the Bodhisattva bestowing boon on his devotees.

The inscription is the usual Buddhist formula written on either side of the figure. On palaeographical grounds, it may be assigned to a date about the 9th century A.D.

[Ball No. 1 reads *Devacandramittravaṭu,* while Ball No. 2 reads *Kṣīradevasya* in which *kṣa* is of the type found in inscriptions like the Belava plate of Bhojavarman and the Naihati plate of Ballālasena. Ball No. 4 reads [*Di*]*nakarasoma-Narvva*(*rmma*)*devayoḥ.* Palaeographically, the writing on Ball No. 3 is considerably earlier than the inscription borne by Ball No. 2.—Ed.]

14 Plasticity of complete roundness and freshness, sensuousness and emotion, dignity and serenity are the characteristics of the medieval sculptures of Bihar and West Bengal. They may be regarded as the final phase of the Classical tradition. Cf. Kramrisch, 'Pāla and Sena Sculpture' in the *Rupam,* No. 40, October, 1929, p. 116.

VIṢṆU ON SOME TRIPURĀ COINS

A. N. LAHIRI

The *Rājamālā*, the State Chronicle of Tripurā, speaks of three series of commemorative coins which king Vijayamāṇikya I struck after certain achievements, evidently connected with his military campaigns. The passage concerned runs thus :

Brahmaputra-snāna kari jarapa mārila |
Dhvajaghāṭa-vijayī bali mahare likhila ||
Tīrtharāja-snāna pare Lakṣāte gaman |
Lakṣā-snāna bali jarap mārila rājan ||
Icchāmatī-pathe Padmāvatī gela pare |
Yātrāpure giyā rājā snān-tarpaṇ kare ||
Padmāvatī-snāna pare mahara māriche |
Padmāvatī jala pāna sasainye kariche ||[1]

This means that king Vijayamāṇikya I struck coins after his holy bath in the Brahmaputra and wrote on them the words, *Dhvajaghāṭa-vijayī*. He then had his dip in the Lakṣā river and struck coins commemorating his bath in the Lakṣā. Finally, he had his holy bath in the Padmāvatī, which event also he commemorated by striking coins.

K.C. Barman published in 1948 a coin commemorating the first event.[2] It has on the obverse the Sanskrit legend written in Bengali characters: *Dhvajaghāṭa-jayi-śrī-śrī-Vijayamāṇikyadeva-śrī-Sarasvatīmahādevyau*, and on the reverse the usual 'Tripurā lion' and the date, *Śaka 1476*.

---

1 K. P. Sen's *Rājamālā*, Vol. II, "Vijayamāṇikya-khaṇḍa", p. 55.
2 *Ānandabājār Patrikā* (Bengali Daily), 19th Pauṣa, 1354 B.S. (4th January, 1948), pp. 9, 11-12.

Coins commemorating the second event were published by both K.P. Sen and K.C. Barman. They bear on the obverse the legend : *Lakṣā-snāyi-śrī-śrī-Tripurāmaheśa-Vijayamāṇikyadeva-śrī-Lakṣmībālā-mahādevyau*, and on the reverse what both Sen and Barman wrongly identified as Mahiṣamardinī,[3] but we have recognised as the figure of Ardhanārīśvara, composed of the right half of a *caturbhuja vṛṣa-vāhana* Śiva and the left half of a *daśabhujā siṁha-vāhinī* Durgā, and the date, Śaka 1482.[4] But so long the last of the 'trio', i.e. Vijayamāṇikya's coin commemorating his holy bath in the Padmāvatī, was not known. Recently, however, Mr. P.K. Unny, a well-known collector of the late medieval Hindu coins of North-Eastern India, acquired a unique specimen of the third series of Vijayamāṇikya's commemorative coins. As soon as Mr. Unny got the coin, he spoke to me over the telephone and gave me a somewhat detailed description of it, reading out at the same time a good portion of the legend. The next day Mr. Unny very kindly brought the coin to me and placed it at my disposal for study. Though neither damaged nor worn out, the short-flan thick-fabric coin had a hard coating of dirt which prevented the obverse legend being easily deciphered and the reverse device correctly recognised. I was amazed to note that inspite of the difficulty created by the dirt crust of the coin, Mr. Unny, a Malayali resident of Calcutta, could successfully read the epithet *Padmāvatī-snāyi°*, the king's name 'Vijayamāṇikya' and the date, *Śaka 1485*, and describe the coin's complicated device fairly well. I had, however, to devote quite some time for the decipherment of the entire legend, the queen's name posing to be the most

3 Sen, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xxi; and Barman, *loc. cit.*

4 *JNSI*, Vol. XXIX, Part II, p. 74.

difficult thing to settle. Mr. Unny's reading was *Vāmadevī*, which, I am sure, very few students of Tripurā coins could improve upon. The name of course is *Vākdevī*. Let us now describe the coin :

Obverse: The conventional Śiva-liṅga in a lined square in the centre, around which is the legend written in a somewhat cramped way ; (above, in two lines) *Padmā-/vatī-snāyi-* (left) *s'rī-Vi-* (right) *śveśva-* (left) *ra-Vi-* (right) *jaya-* (below in two lines) *deva-s'rī-Vāk-/ devyau*. The complete legend reads: *Padmāvatī-snāyi-śrī-Viśveśvara-Vijayadeva-śrī-Vākdevyau.*

Reverse: On a squarish lion-throne (*siṁhāsana*) supported by a pair of lions at each of the four corners (two front ones of which are visible), *caturbhuja* Viṣṇu with normal (?) *praharaṇas*, being raised by his *vāhana* (vehicle) Garuḍa, the mythical anthropoid kite, and attended by a human being at each side. In exergue, *Śaka 1485*.

We thus get all the three commemorative coins of Vijayamāṇikya I quite in keeping with the statement of the *Rājamālā* and, as their respective dates show, in the very order in which they are detailed. But the events which were commemorated by these coins did not occur in as quick a succession as the chronicle would imply. The first event took place in (or sometime before) Śaka 1476, the second in (or sometime prior to) Śaka 1482 and the last in (or a little before) Śaka 1485. Thus, as many as nine years elapsed between the first and the last of the three events. This means that king Vijayamāṇikya I was in conflict with the then Sultān of Bengal, who was in possession of the region concerned for a long period, and had achieved occasional successes against the latter.

The date of the coin, viz. Śaka 1485, is important, since it is the latest known date for Vijayamāṇikya I. And this is what we expect, since a few coins of his son

Anantamāṇikya have recently turned up bearing the date Śaka 1486.[5] Thus, it is now certain that Vijayamāṇikya I ruled upto the first part of Śaka 1485 or even the early part of Śaka 1486.

A very important feature of the coin is the representation of Viṣṇu on the reverse of the coin. We do not know why a Śākta, and evidently a worshipper of Durgā, should suddenly take recourse to the worship of Viṣṇu. As we know, he, like all his three known coin-issuing predecessors, viz. Ratnamāṇikya I, Dhanyamāṇikya, and Devamāṇikya, normally struck coins with the usual Tripurā device of the 'lion', the *vāhana* of Durgā. That was the case upto the time of his issuing the coin commemorating his conquest of Dhvajaghāṭa in Śaka 1476. But, with the issue of the coin commemorating his dip in the Lakṣā, he felt the need of changing the coin-device. And the result was the unique depiction of Ardhanārīśvara composed of the halves of Durgā and her consort Śiva. The commemorative coin of the third series appears to indicate a change in the religious affiliation of the king. He stressed his faith in Viṣṇu and, in consequence, invoked the god in a peculiar aspect. We do not know what precisely brought about this sudden change. Had his conquest of the region where he had his holy bath in the Padmāvatī something to do with it?

There is, however, another interesting feature of the coin which is too conspicuous to be overlooked. Its obverse has in a square frame the conventional Śiva-liṅga, which evidently indicates the king's leaning, at least partially, also towards Śaivism. The *Rājamālā* does not, interestingly enough, say anything about the device of Vijayamāṇikya's coins, not even about the conventional 'lion'. So we

5 See the description below.

may not expect to know anything about the occurrence and significance of the Śiva-liṅga on the coins of his third commemorative series. Curiously, however, we know from the *Rājamālā* that Kalyāṇamāṇikya depicted on his coins a Śiva-liṅga after becoming king in Śaka 1547:

Panera śa sātacalliśa śake rājā haila |
Śubhadine mahārāja mohara mārila ||
Śivaliṅga likhilek mohara-pṛṣṭhete |
Āra pṛṣṭhe nija-nāma rājāra ehāte ||[6]

This means that Kalyāṇamāṇikya became king in Śaka 1547 and struck coins; he depicted a Śiva-liṅga on his coins, and wrote his own name on the other side. Interestingly enough, Kalyāṇamāṇikya's coins dated Śaka 1548 confirms this statement of the *Rājamālā*. But there is a slight difference. The depiction of the tiny Śiva-liṅga occurs on the legend-side of the coin, not on the other side. In fact, quite a few of his successors kept up this practice of depicting a tiny Śiva-liṅga on the legend-side of the coins. We now know that Vijayamāṇikya I started the convention.

However, the device of Viṣṇu being raised by his *vāhana* Garuḍa is highly interesting. We do not know who the two human attedants of Viṣṇu are. As it appears, one of them is a male person and the other a female. Can they be Vijayamāṇikya and his consort Vākdevī? Then, again, the depiction of a *siṁhāsana* or the lion-throne as a squarish seat with the *siṁhas* or lions to support it is no less interesting.

The idea of depicting Viṣṇu being raised by Garuḍa was kept up by Vijayamāṇikya's hapless son Ananatamāṇikya. He, however, did not make the device as elaborate

6 Sen, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, "Kalyāṇamāṇikya-khaṇḍa", p. 66.

as his father did. He adopted only the central motif for what was evidently his coronation coin, the description of which is as follows :

Obverse : In an ornamental border, three-line legend, *śrī-śrī-yu- / t- Anantamāṇi- / kyadeva.*

Reverse : In a lined circle with pellets around, the figure of *caturbhuja* Viṣṇu being raised by his *vāhana* Garuḍa. Date below : (left) *Śaka 14-* (right) *86.*

Anantamāṇikya's coins dated Śaka 1487, however, do not bear this Viṣṇu device ; they bear instead the usual device of the 'Tripurā lion'. It is possible that initially Anantamāṇikya was under some influence of the Vaiṣṇavas, but was very soon led by the Tāntrika practices, which brought about his doom through the machination of his father-in-law Gopīprasāda who promptly seized the throne and assumed royal powers under the name of Udayamāṇikya.

Sometime during 1966-67, the Archaeological Department of Burma acquired a longish stone slab from the village of Zampi, Tiddim Sub-Division, Falam District, Chin Hills, Burma, which has a significant bearing on the topic of our discussion.[7] It has at the top an almost identical device of 'Viṣṇu being raised by Garuḍa', as depicted on the coin of Vijayamāṇikya I and his son Anantamāṇikya. At the top of the device is a crescent moon above a dotted line, while there are eight round objects around, five of them being solid and three hollow. In the exergue there are four horse- or goat-like animals, two of which are advancing from the left and the other two,

7. We are indebted to Prof. D. C. Sircar for allowing us to examine the photograph of the stone slab, which was exhibited and discussed by him in one of the Monthly Seminars at the Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC.

from the right. There is then just below the animals an indifferently written seven-line inscription in what looks like Bengali characters. It is almost impossible to decipher the inscription, though, to our great surprise, a date at the end of the fifth line is readable. It is, interestingly enough, 'Śaka 1479'. The date falls within the reign period of Vijayamāṇikya I who, as we know only from coins, began to rule in or just before Śaka 1454 and was on the Tripurā throne at least upto Śaka 1485. We do not know what connection the person, who got the inscription incised, had with Tripurā ; but the fact that he was a contemporary of Vijayamāṇikya I and used the device of his coin is significant. And since the Chin Hills District is within 200 miles from Agartala, we may assume for the time being that he might be a member of the Ṭiprā tribe and a subject of Vijayamāṇikya I.

This interesting Viṣṇu device, as far as we know, is otherwise unknown elsewhere in India.*

[*Vākdevī* is grammatically required to have been *Vāgdevī*. Moreover, *kde* or *gde* was expected to be written as a conjunct. The queen's name seems to have been Vāmadevī as Mr. Unny has read.—Ed.]

* [See the proceedings of the Monthly Seminars held at the Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC, Nos. XXXV and XXXVII, below.—Ed.]

SOME EPIGRAPHIC AND MANUSCRIPT RECORDS

D.C. SIRCAR

1. *An Alleged Inscription of Khāravela*

The Government of Andhra Pradesh has recently published Dr. R. Subrahmanyam's paper entitled 'The Guntupally Brāhmī Inscription of Khāravela' as No. 3 of its Epigraphical Series (Hyderabad, 1968). Guntupally is a small village about six miles from Kamavarapukota in the West Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh. It is interesting to note that the same inscription is engraved on four different pillars discovered at the village. The arrangement of the *akṣaras* is, however, not exactly the same in the different versions. The expression *Mahisakādhipatisa* as found in Nos. 1, 2 and 4 appears as *Mahisakādhipadisa* in No. 3. The characters of the epigraph are Brāhmī, and it is written in the Prakrit language.

About the contents of the inscription, Dr. Subrahmanyam says, "The inscription purports to register the grant of a *maṇḍapa* (to which the pillars bearing the record perhaps belonged) by one Cula-Goma, the recorder of royal messages or orders (*Sirisaṁdesa-lekhakasa*) of *Mahārāja Kaliṅgādhipati Mahāmekhavāhana* also described as the overlord of the Mahiṣakas (*Mahisakādhipatisa*)......The title of *Mahāmekhavāhana* of the present inscription appears to be a variant of *Mahāmeghavāhana* of the Udayagiri cave records (including the Hāthigumphā inscription of king Khāravela) as both of them (i.e. the king referred to in the Guntupally inscription and also Khāravela) are said to have been the rulers of Kaliṅga (*Kaliṅg-ādhipati*)...... ...The inscription under discussion, while enumerating the usual titles *Mahārāja*, *Kaliṅg-ādhipati* and *Mahāmeghavāhana*, omits

his name Khāravela, but describes him as the overlord of the Mahiṣakas."[1]

I am inclined to disagree with the views of Dr. Subrahmanyam quoted above.

In the first place, the king mentioned in the Guntupally inscription has not been called *Kaliṅg-ādhipati* and *Mahisak-ādhipati*, but *Kaliṅga-Mahisak-ādhipati* in a single compound expression. Since the Hāthigumphā inscription does not mention Khāravela as a lord of the Mahiṣaka country or people, he can hardly be identified with the king of the Guntupally inscription especially when his name cannot be traced in this record. The title *Kaliṅga-Mahiṣak-ādhipati* may mean 'lord of Kaliṅga and Mahiṣaka' and, in that case, Mahiṣaka was a region abutting on Kaliṅga[2] and it was annexed to Kaliṅga by some successor of Khāravela who is described in his own record as well as in his queen's inscription as the lord of Kaliṅga only.[3]

Secondly, some of the characters of the Guntupally inscription are very considerably later than those of the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela who is now assigned to the close of the first century B.C. The Guntupally epigraph, written in an alphabet consisting of both northern and southern as well earlier and later forms of letters, employ the later cursive forms of *ca*, *ḍa*, *la*, *ha*, etc., side by side with earlier southern forms of *ma*, *sa*, etc. The

---

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

2 For the various locations of the Mahiṣa or Mahiṣaka country, see N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 120. None of the theories, however, locates the territory near Kaliṅga.

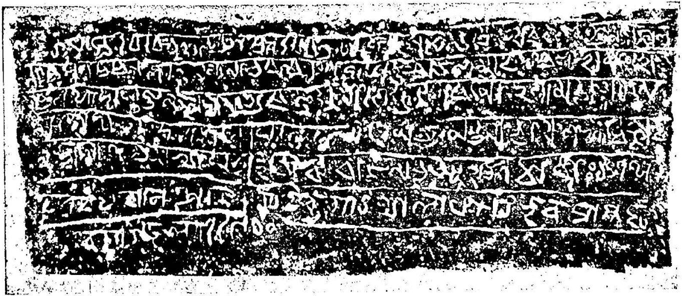
3 The Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela and the Mañcapurī cave inscription of his queen mention the king respectively as *Kaliṅg-ādhipati* and *Kaliṅga-cakravartin*, while another ruler of the Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty is likewise called *Kaliṅg-ādhipati* in his Mañcapurī cave inscription. See Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1965, pp. 214, 222.

letter *pa* has the old Brāhmī form. The above type of mixed alphabet reminds us of the early medieval 'Kalinga Script' which now appears, from the palaeography of the Guntupally inscription, to have had a fairly early beginning. In any case, the characters of the Guntupally inscription appear to be considerably later than those of Khāravela's record so that the king mentioned in the epigraph cannot be indentical with Khāravela, but must have flourished at a later date.

Thirdly, Dr. Subrahmanyam's opinion that the name of the Mahāmeghavāhana king is not mentioned in the Guntupally inscription seems to us to be definitely wrong. He reads in lines 2-5 of his text—*Mahāmekhavāhanasa Sirisadasa-lekhakasa Cula-Gomasa*, in which he corrects *Sirisadasa-lekhakasa* as *Sirisaṁdesa-lekhakasa* and suggests that Cula-Goma was the *śrīsandeśa-lekhaka* or recorder of royal messages or orders. But the passage is clearly *Mahāmekha-vāhanasa siri-Sadasa lekhakasa Cūla-Gomasa*, "of Cūla-Goma (Kṣudra-Goma, i.e. the younger Goma) who is the scribe of the illustrious Sada, the Mahāmeghavāhana." The name of the Mahāmeghavāhana king of Kalinga and Mahiṣaka mentioned in the Guntupally inscription is therefore Sada. It should be noticed that the mention of a *Mahārāja* who was the lord of Kalinga and Mahiṣaka by merely his dynastic appelation Mahāmeghavāhana, without giving out his personal name, would have been quite awkward in the record.

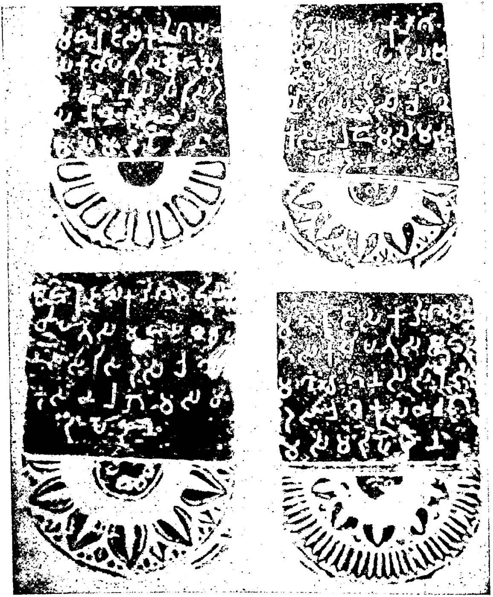
As regards the form *Mahāmekhavāhana* for *Mahāmeghavā-hana*, it may be pointed out that the use of *mekha* for *megha* is a well-known characteristic of the Paiśācī form of Prakrit speech.[4] We know that Paiśācī characteristics are noticed

4 Cf. Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa*, X-3—*vargāṇām tṛtīya-caturthayor=ayujor=anādyor=ādyau*.



Zampi Inscription (pp. 29, 288-89

PLATE IV



Guntupally Inscriptions of Sada (p. 35)

in the Prakrit inscriptions of North-Western and Southern India probably due to Iranian and Dravidian influence.[5]

As we have seen, the inscription records the gift of a *maṇḍapa* which is a word of ambiguous import.[6] It is difficult to say whether the word has been used here to indicate a porch or hall or a temple or public building.

It is well known to the students of the Hāthigumphā inscription[7] that Khāravela led an expedition against Asikanagara (Ṛṣikanagara) on the Kṛṣṇaveṇā probably in the dominions of the contemporary Śātavāhana king Śātakarṇi. He is also stated to have destroyed Pṛthūda (probably near Masulipatam) and fought with the Pāṇḍya king. Khāravela is again believed by some scholars to have come into contact with the Tramira-deśa (Tamil country). Under these circumstances, Mahāmeghavāhana rule in the West Godavari District is easily intelligible. What is, however, more interesting in this connection is that, a few years ago, we published an inscription of about the 2nd century A.D. from Velpuru in the Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh,[8] and this epigraph speaks of a *Mahārāja* Hāritīputra Mānasada of the Aira (Ārya) family of the Gālava-gotra. It was pointed out that king Khāravela also claimed to be an Aira (though he did not claim the Gālava-gotra) and that there may have been some sort of relationship between the king of the Velpuru inscription and the Aira kings of Kaliṅga. It was also observed that, unlike the Śātavāhanas who claimed to be *Rājan*, both Khāravela and Mānasada assumed the title *Mahārāja*. The Airas of Guntur were apparently ousted by the later

5 Sircar, *A Grammar of the Prakrit Language*, p. 94.

6 For the various meanings of the word, see Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, pp. 195-96.

7 Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 213 ff.

8 See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 88 ff.

Śātavāhanas probably during the reign of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi about the middle of the second century A.D. It is now easy to connect Sada of the Guntupally inscription with Mānasada of the Velpuru epigraph which, being written in a hybrid alphabet employing signs both earlier and later than the Velpuru inscription, may be assigned to a later date.

The name Sada borne by the Mahāmeghavāhana ruler mentioned in the Guntupally inscription and the latter part of the name of Mānasada of the Velpuru inscription may really be *Śāta* which is known to have been used as a contraction of the typical Śātavāhana names, *Śātavāhana* and *Śātakarṇi*. The name Śāta occurs on certain Śātavāhana coins, while the name of the compiler of the *Gāthā Saptaśatī*, i.e. *Hāla*, stands for *Śāla* (*Śālavāhana*) = *Śāta* (*Śātavāhana*).[9] If it is admitted that the rulers mentioned in the Guntupally and Velpuru inscriptions bear Śātavāhana names, the characteristic may be attributed to the fact that the said rulers were born of Śātavāhana princesses.[10]

The great importance of the Guntupally inscription lies in its pelaeography and in the fact that it proves the control of the Mahāmeghavāhanas of Kaliṅga over the West Godavari District in the early centuries of the Christian era. I find it difficult to accept Dr. Subrahmanyam's statement that the empire of Khāravela's Śātavāhana

---

9 For coins bearing the name of Ṣāta, see Rapson's *Catalogue of Coins*, p. 1.

10 Note the typical Rāṣṭrakūṭa name Dantivarman in the Pallava dynasty due to the fact that the said Pallava king was born of the daughter of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantivarman II (Dantidurga). A Pāla ruler seems to have been called Hāravarṣa probably because his mother was a princess of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, in which we have many *varṣa*-ending names (*IHQ*, Vol. XXV, 1949, pp. 132 ff.).

contemporary (whom he calls 'Śātakarṇi III') comprised 'the entire Dakṣiṇāpatha including the east coast'.[11]

Text[12]

No. 1

1 Mah[ā]rājasa Kaliga-Mah[i]
2 sak-ādhipatisa [Ma]hāme-
3 [kha]vāhanasa siri-Sada-
4 [sa] le[khakasa] C[ū]la-Go-
5 masa maḍapo dānaṁ (//*)

No. 2

1 Mahārājasa Kaliga-Mahisak-[ā]-
2 dhipatisa Mahāmekhavā[ha]-
3 nasa siri-Sadasa lekha-[13]
4 kasa Cula-Gomasa maṁ-
5 ḍapo dānaṁ (/ /*)

No. 3

1 Mahārajasa Kaligā-
2 Mahisak-ādhipadisa Ma-
3 hāmekhavāhanasa
4 siri-Sadasā lekha-
5 kasa Cula-[G]omasa maḍa-
6 po dānaṁ (/ /*)

---

11 See *op. cit.*, p. 6.

12 From the illustrations published by Dr. Subrahmanyam.

13 A little space at the end of the line seems to have been damaged even at the time of the incision of the record.

No. 4

1 Mahārājasa Kaliga-Ma-
2 hisak-ādhipatisa Maha-
3 mākhavāhanasa siri-Sa-
4 dasa lekhakasa Cula-Go-
5 masa maḍapo dānaṁ (/ /*)

Translation

[This] *maṇḍapa* is the gift of Cūla-Goma (the Younger Goma), [who is] the scribe of the illustrious Sada, the Mahāmeghavāhana *Mahārāja* [and] the lord of Kaliṅga and Mahiṣaka.

2. *Buddhist Dhāraṇīs from China in Inscriptions and Manuscripts*

I

In his interesting work entiled *Siddham*,[14] R. H. van Gulik observes, "While the study of Sanskrit language never flourished in China or Japan,[15] the Indian script—a variety of Brāhmī, called Siddham[16]—played an important role in Far Eastern Buddhism ever since the introduction of this script into China in the 8th century A.D. The Siddham

---

14 International Academy of Indian Culture, Nagpur, 1956.

15 Chinese monks were often described as 'thoroughly conversant with the Sanskrit language', though this meant only that they had mastered the Indian script (van Gulik, *op. cit.*, p. 13). Most of the so-called Chinese 'translators' of the Indian *sūtras* were really transcribers of *dhāraṇīs* in Chinese writing (*ibid.*, p. 25). A few Chinese scholars, however, had satisfactory knowledge of the Sanskrit language (*ibid.*, p. 102). For some Sino-Sanskrit lexicons, meant for those Chinese monks who wanted to go to India, see P. C. Bagchi, *Deaux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois*, Vol. I (1929) and Vol. II (1937).

16 The Siddham was really not a variety, but a derivative of Brāhmī, prevalent in North India during the early medieval period from the 7th to the 9th century (cf. van Gulik, *op. cit.*, p. 55)

script owed its popularity in China and Japan, especially to the rise of the Mantrayāna, the esoteric School of the True Word. It was used in particular for writing *dhāraṇī* and *mantra*, and for the magic syllables known as *bīj-ākṣara* or germ-letters[17]........the latter figure largely in the Vajra-dhātu and the Garbha-dhātu, the two magic charts that contain the essence of the teachings of the Mantrayāna.................."[18] The learned author further says, "Orientalists are generally agreed that there exist only three living scripts in the world of such intrinsic artistic value as to deserve a place in the realm of fine art, and which are indeed considered on a par with painting in those countries where those scripts are in use. These are the script of China, Japan and Arabia. The Siddham script as it was developed in China and Japan, in my opinion, qualifies for being added as a fourth to the three others mentioned here."[19]

I-tsing speaks of the 'Siddha-composition for Beginners' or the 'Siddham Writing Tables', also called *Siddhir-astu*, the title meaning 'success and good luck',[20] while the script alluded to is undoubtedly the same as *Siddhamātṛkā*, mentioned by Al-Bīrūnī as prevalent in Northern India.[21]

---

17 They represent the essence of each particular deity and often also indicate the essence of a particular *sūtra, mantra* or *dhāraṇī* (van Gulik, *op. cit.*, p. 78, and Plates 45-46). Thus *bhai*=Bhaiṣajyaguru, *vi*=Vināyaka, *va*=Varuṇa, etc., are easily intelligible; but many of the germ-letters are based on mystic consideration and are not so easily understood; e.g., *aḥ*=Amoghasiddhi, *hūṁ*=Akṣobhya, *trāḥ*=Ratnasambhava, *hrīḥ*=Amitābha, *ma*=Nārāyaṇa, *gha*=Kumāra, etc. (*ibid.*, pp. 78 ff.) Of course *aḥ* may be related to the first letter of the name of Amoghasiddhi.

18 *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

20 *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, trans. Takakusu, pp. 170-71; van Gulik, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

21 Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 173.

The Chinese had been familiar with the Taoist spells long before they were acquainted with the Buddhist *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs*; they knew that, for being effective, a charm has to be written accurately.[22] The Siddham script was popular for writing *dhāraṇīs* in China during the period 600-1000 A.D., the heyday of Chinese Tantrism falling in the T'ang period (618-907 A.D.). Vajrabodhi, son of a Central Indian king named Īśānavarman, translated into Chinese the *Vajraśekhara-sūtra*, the counterpart of the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, in 723 A.D. These two *sūtras* played an important part in the history of the Siddham script in China and Japan.[23] The Tantrik adept Amoghavajra, patriarch of the 'Secret Sect' or of the 'Doctrine of the True Word,' produced a fuller translation of the *Vajraśekhara-sūtra* in the second quarter of the eighth century. Śubhakarasiṁha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra were responsible for the popularity of the script.[24] Chih-kuang's 'Record of the Siddham Script' was composed about the close of the eighth century.[25] Mantrayāna and the Siddham script continued to progress during the Northern Sung period (960-1127 A.D.) and, in the reign of emperor Jen-tsang (1023-62 A.D.), the last elaborate treatise of Siddham ('Compendium of Indian Writing compiled during the Ching-yu Era') was completed.[26]

In 1946, Walter Liebenthal discovered, in certain temples in the Yunnan Province (S.W. China), built between 800 and 1200 A.D., bricks bearing magic formulae in the Siddham script. He also obtained, from a monk, a Chinese block-print containing Sanskrit magic formulae dated

22 See van Gulik, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.
23 *Ibid.*, p. 49.
24 *Ibid.*, p. 53.
25 *Ibid.*, p. 22.
26 *Ibid.*, p. 91.

1573 A.D.[27] A stone tablet, said to have been found in the Shao-lin temple on the Sung mountain in the Honan Province, is stated to contain the engraved text of the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī*, which is known to have been available in several versions.[28]

II

An inscription in the Siddham script, engraved on an octagonal pillar erected in 1104 A.D. is stated to have been found by Raghu Vira at the village of Hsuan-wu in the Lo yang District, China. It was noticed and illustrated in 'Prof. Raghu Vira's Expedition to China' and P. N. Oak's *Some Blunders of Indian Historical Research*, Delhi, 1966, p. 297. It is incised in thirteen lines which are vertical in the fashion of Chinese writing. If Walter Liebenthal and Raghu Vira speak of two different stone inscriptions, it has to be admitted that a short version of the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī* was popular and was often engraved on stone in China.

The Hsuan-wu pillar inscription contains a condensed text of the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī* which occurs in the Buddhist canon in several versions, as already indicated above. The epigraphic text runs as follows :—

1 namo bhagavate trailokya-prativiśiṣ[ṭā]ya Vu(Bu)-ddhāya bhagava[te ta*]-

2 d=yathā Oṁ viśodhaya sama-samabhāva-bhāsa-spharaṇa-gati-gaha(ga)[na]-

27 See *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. XII, Peking, 1947; van Gulik, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

28 *Shina-bunka-shiseki*, Vol. II, Plate 99; van Gulik, *op. cit.*, p. 77. For the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī* and the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya-sūtra*, see *Annecdota Oxoniensia*, Aryan Series, Vol. I, Part III, Oxford, 1884; also van Gulik. *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 73-74, 76-77.

3 svabhāva-śuddhe abhiṣimcaya Sugata-vara-vacan-āmṛt-ābhiṣeke

4 āhara āhara āyu(ḥ*)-sandhāraṇi śodhaya ga[ga]na-viśuddhe uṣṇī-

5 ṣavijaya-viśuddhe sahasra-raśmi-saṁce(co)dite sarva-Tathāgat-ādhi-

6 ṣṭhān-ādhiṣṭhita-mudre vajra-kāya-saṁhatana-śuddhe sarva(rv-ā)varaṇa-vi-

7 śuddhe pratinivarttaya āyu(ḥ*)-śuddha-samay-ādhiṣṭhite maṇi-maṇita-

8 dha(dhṛ)t-āmbhu(dbhu)ta-koṭi-pariśuddhe visphuṭa-vudhi(buddhi)-śuddhe jaya jaya vija-

9 ya vijaya smara smara sarva-Vu(Bu)ddh-ādhiṣṭhita-śuddha-vajra vajra-garbha

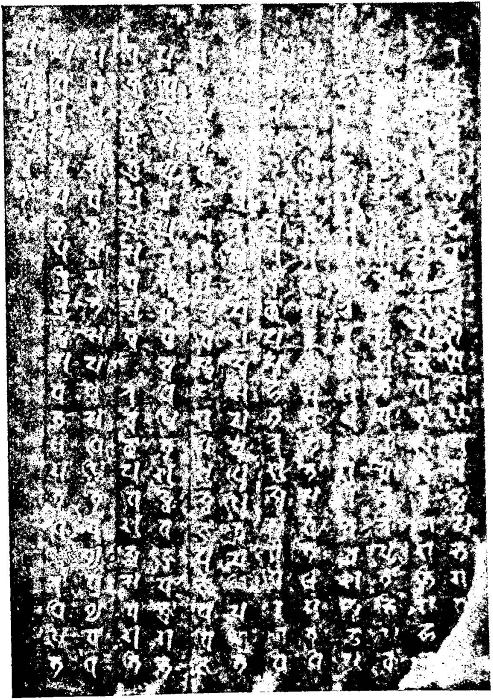
10 vajram=bhavatu mama sarva-satvā(ttvā)nāṁ ca kāya-viśuddhe sarva-gati-

11 pariśuddhe sarva-Tathāgata-samāśvās-ādhiṣṭhite vu(bu)dhya vu(bu)dhya vo(bo)dha-

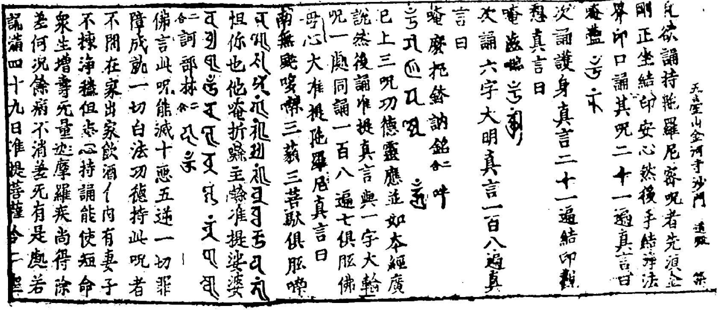
12 ya vo(bo)dhaya samabha(ya)-pariśuddhe sarva-Tathāgat-ādhiṣṭhān-ādhiṣṭhita-

13 mahāmudr[e] svāhā (//*)

The above may be compared with the following text of the *dhāraṇī* in Dharmarakṣa's version—*Oṁ namo bhagavate sarva-trailokya-prativiśiṣṭāya Buddhāya bhagavate namaḥ tad=yathā Oṁ bhrūṁ bhrūṁ bhrūṁ śodhaya śodhaya viśodhaya viśodhaya asama-samant-āvabhāsa-spharaṇa-gati-gagana-svabhāva-viśuddhe abhiṣiñcyantu māṁ sarva-Tathāgata-Sugata-vara-vacan-āmṛt-ābhiṣekair=mahāmudrā-mantrapadaiḥ Oṁ āhara āhara āyuḥ-saṁdhāraṇī śodhaya śodhaya viśodhaya viśodhaya gagana-svabhāva-viśuddhe uṣṇīṣavijaya-pariśuddhe sahasraraśmi-sañcodite sarva-Tathāgat-āvalokini ṣaṭ-pāramitā-paripūraṇi sarva-Tathāgata-māte daśabhūmi-pratiṣṭhite sarva-Tathāgatā-mama hṛday-ādhiṣṭhān-ādhiṣṭhite Oṁ mudre mudre mahāmudre vajra-kāya-saṁhatana-*



Hsuan-wu Inscription containing Dhāraṇī (p. 39)



天臺山金河寺沙門 道㲀 集

凡欲誦持陀羅尼咒者先須金
剛正坐結印安心然後手結淨法
界印口誦其咒二十一遍真言曰
唵覽
次誦護身真言二十一遍結印獻
想真言曰
唵齒臨
次誦六字大明真言一百八遍真
言曰
唵麽抳鉢訥銘(二合)吽
已上三咒功德靈應並如本經廣
說然後誦准提真言與一字大輪
咒一處同誦一百八遍七俱胝佛
母心大准提陀羅尼真言曰
南無颯哆喃三藐三菩馱俱胝喃
怛你也他唵折隸主隸准提娑婆
(二合)訶 部林(二合)
佛言此咒能滅十惡五逆一切罪
障成就一切白法功德持此咒者
不問在家出家飲酒食肉有妻子
不揀淨穢但志心持誦能使短命
衆生增壽无量迦摩羅疾尚得除
差何況餘病不消差无有是處若
誦滿四十九日准提菩薩令二聖

Dhāraṇis in Siddham and Chinese Scripts—Print No. 1 (p. 43)

pariśuddhe sarva-karm-āvaraṇa-viśuddhe pratinivartaya mama āyur-viśuddhe mahāsamay-ādhiṣṭhān-ādhiṣṭhite Oṁ muni muni mahāmuni vimuni vimuni mahāvimuni mati mati māhāmati mamati mahāmamati sumati tathāta bhūta-koṭi-pariśuddhe visphuṭa-buddhi-śuddhe Oṁ he he jaya jaya vijaya vijaya smara smara sphara sphara spharaya spharaya sarva-Buddh-ādhiṣṭhān-ādhiṣṭite Oṁ śuddhe śuddhe vajre vajre mahāvajre suvajre vajra-garbhe jaya-garbhe vijaya-garbhe vajra-jvālā-garbhe vajrodbhava-vajrasambhave vajre vajre(jri)ṇi vajraṁ bhavatu mama śarīraṁ sarva-sattvānāñ=ca kāya-pariśuddhiś=ca bhavantu me siddhiḥ sarvag-ātipariśuddhiś = ca sarvatathāgatāś = ca samāśvāsayantu budhya budhya sidhya sidhya bodhaya bodhaya vibodhaya vibodhaya mocaya mocaya vimocaya vimocaya śodhaya śodhaya viśodhaya viśodhaya samanta mocaya mocaya samantaraśmi-pariśuddhe sarva-Tathāgata mama hṛday-ādhiṣṭhān-adhiṣṭhite. Oṁ mudre mahāmudre mantrapade svāhā / /[29]

III

I was deputed by the Government of India to deliver lectures at the Oriental Faculty of some of the Universities in the U.S.S.R. in 1961 and, in that connection, was staying at Moscow in the months of November and December of that year. At that time, a young Russian student of Chinese phonology met me with some photographs of manuscript pages containing Buddhist *dhāraṇīs* written in the Siddham script together with their Chinese transliteration. The youngman requested me to prepare transcripts of the Siddham texts and supply him with copies so that he could complete his study of the Chinese portion. His idea was that we two should write jointly on the said texts and submit our joint paper to the International Congress of

29 Cf. van Gulik, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77. The language is corrupt Sanskrit as usual. We have corrected a few palpable errors.

Orientalists to be held in New Delhi in January 1964. I agreed and, on my return to Calcutta, sent my transcripts of the *dhāraṇīs* to the said youngman. Unfortunately, I did not hear from him thereafter and do not know whether his paper on the subject was published in Russian. He did not probably attend the New Delhi session of the International Congress of Orientalists.[30]

About the beginning of 1963, I casually came across copies of my transcripts of the said *dhāraṇī* texts in an old file and discussed them at the Monthly Seminar of the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, held on the 18th January, 1968. The interest they invoked among the participants of the Seminar being considerable, I was then thinking of publishing them and sent the photographs to Prof. Tan-yun Shan, retired Director of the China Bhavan of the Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, to examine the Chinese part and to prepare a note on it. Prof. Shan, who followed the Wade-Giles system of transliteration with slight modification, gave me the contents of the Chinese parts of the records, consisting of fourteen texts in all, as follows— I. *Ch'i-chou* (Initial Incantation), II. *Hu-shen Chen-yen* (Body-protection Dhāraṇī), III. *Lin-tzu Ta-Ming Chen-yen* (*Ṣaḍakṣara-vidyā-mantra*), IV. *Ch'i-chü-chih* (*ti* ?) *Fu-mu-hsin Ta-Chun-t'e To-lo-ni Chen-yen* (*Sapta-koṭi-Buddha-mātṛ-Mahācaṇḍī-dhāraṇī* or *Caṇḍīdevī-dhāraṇī*), V. *Chin-kang Sa-t'o Pe-tzu-chou* (Vajrasattva Hundred-word Dhāraṇī), VI. *Shih-erh Yin-yuan-chou* (*Dvādaśāṅga-Pratītyasamutpāda-dhāraṇī*), VII. Nil, VIII. *Ta-pao-lou-ko*

30 I am not sure if I remember the youngman's name correctly. But it may be M. W. Sofronov who was then probably working at the Institut Narodov Azii, Armyanskiy per. 2, Moscow, Central. I remember vaguely to have been told by the youngman that the originals of the photographs belonged to the late medieval period and were secured from Mongolia.

Sui-hsin-chou (*Mahāmaṇi-vipula-vimāna-viśva-supratiṣṭhita-guhya-dhāraṇī*), IX. *Tsun-sheng-hsin-chou* (Supreme Hṛdaya-dhāraṇī), X. *A-mi-t'o-fu Hsin-chou* (*Amitābha-buddha-hṛdaya-dhāraṇī*), XI. *A-mi-t'o-fu Yi-tzu-chou* (Amitābha-buddha one-word Dhāraṇī), XII. *Chih-chü Ju-lai-hsin P'o-ti-yü-chou* (*Jñānaprabha tathāgata-hṛdaya-dhāraṇī*) for breaking the Hell, XIII. *Wen-shu-Pu-sa Wu-tzu Hsin-chou* (Mañjuśrī-bodhisattva Five-word Hṛdaya-dhāraṇī), and XIV. *Pi-lu-che-na-fu Ta-kuan-ting Kuang-chou* (*Vairocana-buddha-abhiṣecana* [*mūrdhābhiṣikta* ?]-*dhāraṇī*).

The photographs are six in number and the lines of writing in both the Siddham and Chinese scripts are vertical. The formation of the *akṣaras* is more careful in some than in others. Print No. 1 exhibits defective writing.

The texts of the *dhāraṇīs* on the photographs are transcribed below.

Print No. 1

Sanskrit Text

I

1 Ūṁ Ṛṁ

II

2 Uṁ chrīṁ

III

3 Uṁ maṇipadme hūṁ

IV

4 namo(maḥ) sapta(ptā)nāṁ Sāṁ(Sa)myaksaṁvu(bu)-dhdha(ddha)-kuya(koṭī)nāṁ

5 vacya(tad = ya)thā Uṁ ca te cu tre cuṁ pā svā-

6 hā Ūṁ

Chinese Text

I. *Initial Incantation* (*Ch'i-chou*)

1 An [Kai (Ho?) or Yi (Yeh?)]

II. *Body-protection Dhāraṇī* (*Hu-shen Chen-yen*)

2 An Ch'ih-lin

III. *Ṣaḍakṣara-vidyā-mantra or Six-word Spell* (*Lin-tzu Ta-Ming Chen-yen*)

3 An Mo-mi-po-[na-ming] Hung

IV. *Saptakoṭi-Buddha-mātṛ-'Mahā-Tchundī'- dhāraṇī* (*Ch'i - chü-chih* (*ti* ?) *Fu-mu-hsin Ta-Chun-t'e To-lo-ni Chen-yen*)

4 Nan-mo Sa-to-nan San-miao-san-p'u-t'o-Chü-chih-nan

5 Ta-ni-yeh-ta An Che ** chu ** Chun-t'i sa-p'o-

6 ho [Pu-lin]

N.B. —Section IV (lines 4-6) are also reproduced in Print No. 2. It is possible to think that Prof. Tan-yun Shan's 'Tchundī' is Caṇḍī and not Cundā. In the *Sādhanamālā* (ed. B. Bhattacharya, G.O.S., p. 325), the passage *tasyai śrāvaka-bodhisattva-gaṇino Buddhasya mātre namaḥ* refers to Prajñā-pāramitā.

Print No. 2

Sanskrit Text

1 namo(maḥ) sapta(ptā)nāṃ Sāṁ(Sa)myaksaṁvu(bu)-dhdha(ddha)-kuya(koṭī)nāṁ

2 vacya(tad=ya)thā U*ṁ* ca te tu tre cuṁ pa svā-

3 hā Ū*ṁ*

N.B.—This text is a duplicate copy of section IV (lines 4-6) on Print No. I.

Print No. 3

Sanskrit Text

V

1 O*ṁ* Vajrasatva(ttva)-samayam=a-

2 nupālaya Vajrasa(ttva)-

3 tven=opatiṣṭha dṛ-

4 ḍho me bhava subhāyyo(toṣyo) me bhava su-

5 yoyyo(poṣyo) me ca(bha)va anurakto
6 me ca(bha)va sarva-siddhi[ṁ]
7 me prayaccha sarva-karma-
8 su ca me cittaṁ cistaṁ(śreyaḥ) ma(ku)-
9 ru hūṁ ha ha ha ha hoḥ bhagavaṁ(van)
10 sarva-Tathāgata vajra(ṁ*)
11 ma(mā) me muñca vaijrībhaṭa(va) ma-
12 hāsamayasatva(ttva) āḥ

VI

13 Oṁ Ye dharmā hetu-pra-
14 bhavā hetun=teṣān=Tathāga-

Chinese Text

V. *Vajrasattva Hundred-word Dhāraṇī (Chin-kang Sa-t'o Pe-tzu-chou)*

1 An Mo-[che-lo]-sa-to-sa-ma-yeh ma-
2 * * po-la-yeh Mo-[che-lo]-so-to-
3 [te-yung] na-po-ti-[shih-ta Neng-ling]-
4 nang Ming Mo-[kuan(wo?)] Hsü-to-shang Ming
5 po-shang Ming Mo-kuan(wo?) A-[kuan(wo ?)]-lo ch'i-to
6 ming mo-[kuan (wo ?)] sa-ling-mo-si * * ming
7 [Pu-lo]-yeh-tsan sa-[ling-mo]-ko[ling-ma]-
8 hsü tsan ming chih-ta [shih-li]-yang chua-
9 lu Hung ho ho ho ho ho Mo-o-k'uan
10 Sa-[ling-mo]-ta-ta-o-ta Mo- [che-lo]
11 Ma Ming Men-tsan Mo-che-li-mo[kuan(wo) ?] Ma-
12 ho-sa-ma-yeh-sa-to ya

VI. *Dvādaśāṅga-pratītyasamutpāda-dhāraṇī (Shih-erh Yin-yuan-chou)*

13 An Ying Na-[ling-ma] Hsing-[ko(ch'ioh)]-[pu-lo]-
14 mo-[kuan(wo ?)] Hing-[ko(ch'ioh)] Ting-p'u Ta-ta-o-
15 to Hsieh-mo-na-ta Ting-p'u-tsan yang Ni-

N.B.—The text is continued on the next Print (No. 4). Lines

1-12 constitute the celebrated *ṣaṭ-ākṣara-mantra* quoted in the *Sādhanamālā* (pp. 28, 74, 119, 145, 295, 398) as follows— *Oṁ Vajrasattva-samayam = anupālaya Vajrasattvatven = opatiṣṭha dṛḍho me bhava sutoṣyo me bhava supoṣyo me bhava anurakto me bhava sarva-siddhiṁ me prayaccha sarva-karmasu me cittaṁ śreyaḥ kuru kuru huṁ ha ha ha ha hoḥ Bhagavan Sarva-Tathāgata vajra-(ṁ*) mā me muñca vajrībhava mahāsamaya-sattva āḥ.*

The first sign of *Hsu-po-shang* (*supoṣyo*) and *Mo-wo* are not transliterated in Prof. Tan-yun Shan's transcript. What Prof. Shan has read as *kuan* (*wo* ?) in lines 4, 5, 6, 11 and 14 must be *wo* and not *kuan* because it is the transliteration of the Sanskrit letter *va*. The same syllable occurs also in Print No. 4, line 16, and Print Vo. 5 (XIV), line 13.

Print No. 4

(Continuation from Print No. 3, Section VI)

Sanskrit Text

15 to = 'vadat teṣāṁ ca yo nirodha evamvā(vaṁ-vā)dī Mahāśramaṇaya(ṇaḥ) svāhā

Chinese Text

16 lang-na ying-k'uan-[kuan (wo ?)]- [ni] Ma- ho-

17 shih-lo-ma-na-ying so-ho

N.B.—Lines 13-14 of Section VI of Print No. 3 together with line 15 on this Print (No. 4) constitute the well-known Buddhist formula called *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra* found in innumerable Indian records, especially on Buddha images. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 220 ff.

It will be seen that there is slight difference in the alignment of the *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra* in the Sanskrit and Chinese texts. Prof. Tan-yun Shan says that there is an incomplete text (Section VII) after Section VI on Print No. 4 which, however, does not show any part of a *dhāraṇī*.

Print No. 5

Sanskrit Text

VIII

1 O*ṁ* Maṇidhari hū*ṁ* phaṭ

IX

2 O*ṁ* *Ṛṁ* svāhā

X

3 O*ṁ* amṛna(ta)-teje bhara

4 kū*ṁ* (huṁ)

XI

Hrīḥ

XII

5 namra(ma) aṣṭa(ṣṭā)śīnī(tī)nā(ṁ*)

6 Samyaksaṁvu(bu)ddha-koṭīnī(nāṁ)

7 O*ṁ* jña(jñā)n-āvābhāsi dhi-

8 ri dhiri hū*ṁ*

XIII

9 Arapacana

XIV

10 O*ṁ* Amoghavairocana

11 mahāmudrā-maṇi-

12 padma jvala pra-

13 varttaya hū*ṁ*

14 namah saptānāṁ Samyaksaṁvu(bu)

Chinese Text

VIII. *Mahāmaṇi-vipula - vimāna - viśva - supratiṣṭhita - guhya-dhāraṇī (Ta-pao-lou-ko Sui-hsin-chou)*

1 An Ma-ni-na-li Hung Fa-ta

IX. *Supreme Hṛdaya-dhāraṇī (Tsun-sheng-hsin-chou)*

2 An [Mo-lung] so-ho

X. *Amitābha-buddha-hṛdaya - dhāraṇī* (*A - mi - t'o-fu Hsin-chou*)

3 An A-[mi-li]-ta-teh-ching Ho-lo

4 Hung

XI. *Amitābha - Buddha One - word Dhāraṇī* (*A-mi-t'o-fu Yi-tzu-chou*)

*

XII. *Jñānaprabha-tathāgata-hṛdaya - dhāraṇī for Breaking the Hell* (*Chih-chü Ju-lai-hsin P'o-ti-yü-chou*)

5 Na-ma A-[shih-ta]- shih-ti-nan

6 Sa-mieh-san-mo-na-kuang-ti-nan

7 An yeh-na- [wo]- mo-si Ni-

8 li Ni-li Hung

XIII. *Mañjuśrī-b dhisattva Five-word Hṛdaya-dhāraṇī* (*Wen-shu-P'u-sa Wu-tzu Hsin-chou*)

9 A-lo-po-tsan-na

XIV. *Vairocana-Buddha - mūrdh - ābhiṣikta - dhāraṇī* (*Pi-lu-che-na-fu Ta-kuan-ting Kuang-chou*)

10 An A-mo-o-mei-lo-tsan-na

11 Ma-ho-mu- [neng-lo] Ma-ni-

12 po-neng-ma Ts'o-la [Pu-lo]-

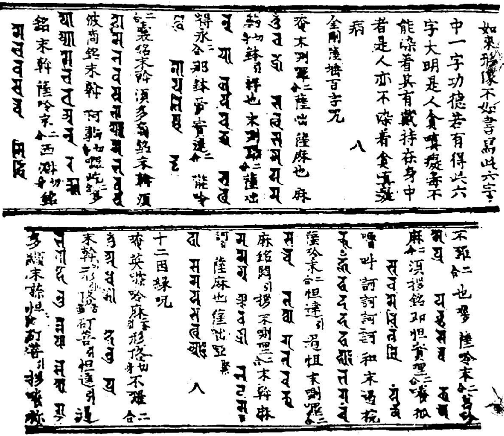
13 [kuan (wo ?)] - [ling-ta]-yeh Hung

N.B.—For line 1 (Section VIII), cf. *Maṇidhari Vajriṇi rakṣa rakṣa māṁ huṁ phaṭ svāhā* in the *Sādhanamālā*, *op. cit.*, p. 44, and *Maṇidhari vajriṇi Mahāpratisare huṁ huṁ phaṭ*, *ibid.*, pp. 396, 406. Section XI seems to remain blank in the Chinese text. For lines 7-8 (Section XII), cf. *Oṁ picu picu prajñā-vardhani jvala jvala medhā-vardhani dhiri dhiri buddhi-vardhani svāhā*, *ibid.*, p. 340. For line 9 (Section XIII), cf. *Oṁ Arpacana muḥ*, *ibid.*, p. 94, and for lines 10 ff. (Section XIV), cf. *Vairocana mahāmudre jvāla pravarttaya Hūṁ* in the illustration of a Siddham spell in van Gulik's *Siddham*, p. 182.

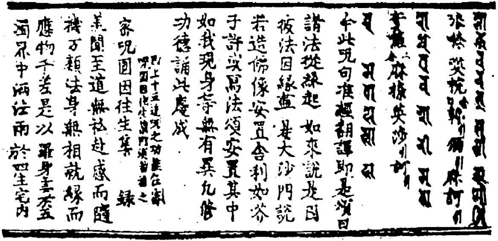
Line 14 of the Sanskrit part is the same as the beginning of Section IV on Print No. 1. It is incomplete,

怛你也他唵折隸主隸准提娑婆
二合訶 部林二合
佛言此咒能滅十惡五逆一切罪
障成就一切白法功德持此咒者
不問在家出家飲酒食肉有妻子
不揀淨穢但志心持誦能使短命
衆生增壽无量迦摩羅疾尚得除
差何況餘病不消差无有是處若
誦滿四十九日准提菩薩令二聖
者常隨其人所有善惡心之所念
皆耳邊一一具報若有无福无相
求官不遂貧苦所逼者常誦此咒
能令現世得輪王福所求官位必
得稱遂若求智恵得大智恵求男
女者便得男女凡有所求无不稱
遂似如意珠一切隨心又誦此咒
能令國王大臣及諸四衆生愛敬
心見即歡喜誦此咒人水不能溺
火不能燒毒藥冤家軍陣強賊及
惡龍獸諸鬼魅等皆不能害若欲
請梵王帝釋四天王閻羅天子等
但誦此咒隨請必至不敢前次所
有驅使隨心皆得十齋日者所謂一
日八日十四日十五日十八日二十三日二
十四日二十八日二十九日三十日

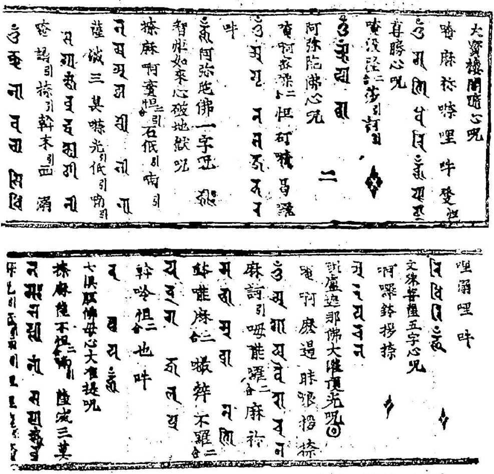
Dhāraṇīs in Siddham and Chinese Scripts—Print No. 2 (p. 44)



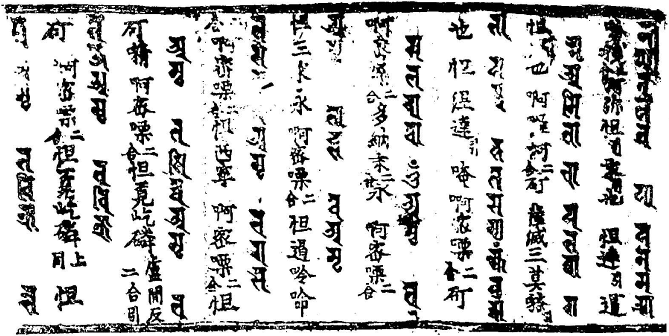
Dhāraṇīs in Siddham and Chinese Scripts—Print No. 3 : Right and Left Halves (p. 44)


今此呪句准經翻譯即是頌曰
諸法從緣起 如來説是因
彼法因緣盡 是大沙門説
若造佛像安置舍利如芥
子許或寫法頌安置其中
如我現身等無有異凡修
功德誦此慶成
密呪圓因往生集 録
美聞王道無私赴感而隨
機万類法身無相就縁而
應物千差是以羅身垂
遍界中雨法雨於四生宅内

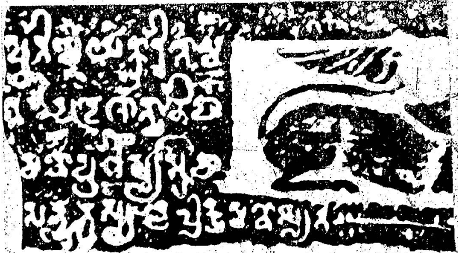
Dhāraṇis in Siddham and Chinese Scripts—Print No. 4 (p. 46)



Dhāraṇīs in Siddham and Chinese Scripts—Print No. 5 : Right and Left Halves (p. 47)



Dhāraṇīs in Siddham and Chinese Scripts—Print No. 6 (p. 49)



Figs. 1-2 —Vidiśā Inscriptions of Rāmagupta : Left and Right Halves (p. 150)
Figs. 3-4 —Coin of Vijayamāṇikya : Obverse and Reverse (p. 25)
Figs. 5-6 —Coin of Anantamāṇikya : Obverse and Reverse (p. 28)

Print No. 6

Sanskrit Text

1 namo Ratna-trayāya nama Ā-
2 rya-Amitābhāya Tathāga-
3 tāya Arhate Saṁyaksaṁvu(bu)ddhā-
4 ya la(ta)d = yathā Oṁ amṛve(te)
5 amṛ[t-o]dbhave amṛ-
6 ta-satve(ttve) amṛca(ta)-garbhe
7 amṛta-siddhe amṛta-
8 vaje(jre) amṛta-vikrā-
9 nte amṛta-vikrānta

N.B.—This is incomplete. As regards the corresponding Chinese text, Prof. Tan-yun Shan says that it is fragmentary without any context, title, beginning and end.

For lines 4-8, cf. *Oṁ amite amit-oddhave amita-cakrānte amita-gātre amita-gāmini amit-āyur = dade gagana-kirtikari sarva-kleśa-kṣayaṅkariye svāhā* in the *Sādhanamālā*, p. 418.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE ON CREMATION AND POST-CREMATION BURIAL IN INDIA

D. R. DAS

In modern times, among the Brahmanised Hindus, the only recognised method of disposal of the dead is cremation. It is, however, doubtful whether the idea of burning the dead was brought to India by the so-called invading Aryans. O. Schrader[1] refers to the primitive thought that cremation opens for the dead person the entrance into a paradise beyond ; but he is not certain that the custom of burning the corpse originated among the 'Aryans' and spread 'wave-like' in different directions. So far as India is concerned, Keith[2] rightly holds that the idea of burning as necessary to take the soul to heaven is not Vedic, the *Ṛgveda* referring to both the burnt and unburnt dead as going to heaven. There is also archaeological evidence to show that burning was practised in pre-Vedic India.[3]

As it seems, in the period of the *Ṛgveda* and *Atharvaveda*, burial and burning were the two methods of disposing the dead. Gradually cremation prevailed upon burial. Thus, from the time of the *Yajurveda* down to the ages of the Āraṇyaka and the Śrautasūtra, cremation was followed by the burying of burnt bones and ashes. In the Gṛhya period, post-cremation burial began to decline and finally, in the post-Gṛhya period, it became obsolete.

The five funeral hymns that occur in the *Ṛgveda*[4] seem

---

1 *ERE*, Vol. II, s.v. 'Aryan Religion', 'Realms of the Dead' (also 'Burial' and 'Burning of the Corpse').

2 *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and the Upaniṣads*, p. 417.

3 See *infra*.

4 X. 14.1-6; 15.1-14; 16.1-14; 17.3-6; 18.1-14.

been fully made known to them,—still doing homage to the corpse with their own dancing and songs and music and with garlands and perfumes, with the accompaniment of divine dancing and songs and music and garlands and perfumes from the gods, they carried the corpse by the north gate to the north of the city. Then entering by the northern gate, they carried it through the city to the midst thereof.[52] And then, going out by the eastern gate, they carried it to the shrine known as the Makuṭabandhana Cetiya or Coronation-temple of the Mallas, which was on the east of the city. And there they laid it down.

There, under the direction of the Venerable Ānanda,[53] the corpse was prepared for cremation, in all respects just as if it had been the corpse of a *Cakkavatti* or universal monarch. It was wrapped in a new cloth (*ahata vattha*), and then in flocks of cotton (*kappāsa*), alternately, until there were five hundred layers of each. It was then placed in an iron coloured oil-trough, which was covered by another iron-coloured trough.[54] And it was then placed on a funeral pile (*citaka*) made of all sorts of odorous substances.

Four chief men of the Mallas[55] who had washed their heads and wore new clothes for the purpose, then sought to set the funeral pile on fire. But they could not do so because, as was explained to them by the Venerable

52 Fleet observes, "a very special honour was conferred on the corpse of the Buddha by this treatment; for (as the translator of the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, SBE, Vol. XI, p. 125n, has indicated), to carry into the city, in any ordinary case, the corpse of a person who had died outside it, would have polluted the city. In a similar manner, the corpse of Mahinda was carried into the city, and then out on the south; see *Dīpavaṁsa*, 17. 102-03" (*JRAS*, 1906, p. 661n).

53 *Mahāpari.*, text 255/161.

54 R. Knox (quoted by Fleet) mentions a custom of placing the corpse of a person of quality, for cremation, inside a tree cut down and hollowed out like a hog-trough.

55 *Mahāpari.*, text 257/163.

Aniruddha, the intention of the gods was otherwise: namely, that the pile should not catch fire until homage should have been paid at the feet of the Buddha by the Venerable Mahākassapa who, travelling at that time from Pāvā to Kusīnārā with five hundred *bhikkhus*, friars, had heard on the way, from an Ājīvaka, the news of the Buddha's death, and was pushing on to Kusīnārā. In due course, Mahākassapa and the five hundred *bhikkhus* arrived. And, when they had done homage at the feet of the Buddha, the funeral pile caught fire of its own accord.

The corpse (*sarīram*) of the Buddha was then so thoroughly consumed[56] that, just as when ghee (*sappi*) or oil is burnt, neither ashes nor soot could be detected, either of the cuticle, or of the skin, or of the flesh, or of the sinews, or of the lubricating fluid of the joints; only the bones (*sarīrāni*) were left.[57] The streams of water fell down from the sky, and extinguished the fire. And the Mallas of Kusīnārā extinguished the pyre with water scented with perfumes of all kinds.

Then for seven days,[58] the Mallas of Kusīnārā guarded the bones, the corporeal relics (*sarīram*) of the Buddha in their *Santhāgāra*, their townhall, within a cage of spears with a rampart of bows, doing homage to them with dancing and songs and music, and with garlands and perfumes.

Meanwhile, the news had spread abroad. So messengers arrived, from various peoples who claimed shares of the corporeal relics, and promised to erect *thūpas* (*stūpas*) and hold feasts in honour of them.

---

56 *Ibid.*, text, 258/164.

57 According to tradition, the following bones remained uninjured: the four canine teeth, the two collar-bones and the *uṇhīsa* (*uṣṇīsa*) or excrescence from the cranium. See *JRAS*, 1906, p. 663n.

58 *Mahāpari.*, text, 258/164.

At the instance of a Brāhmaṇa, named Doṇa, the corporeal relics were divided into eight equal shares, fairly apportioned, and distributed among the claimants. And the Brāhmaṇa himself received the *Kumbha*, earthen jar, in which the bones had been collected after the cremation. The Moriyas of Pipphalīvana, who came late, were given the extinguished embers (*aṅgāra*) of the fire.

Thus there were eight *thūpas* for the corporeal relics, and a ninth for the *Kumbha*, and a tenth for the embers.

It follows from this description that the funeral rites that prevailed among the Śākyas conform basically to the Vedic formula of cremation, collection of bones in an urn and their final burial under a mound. The question may be raised as to the origin of this post-cremation burial. In this connection, R.P. Chanda[59] says : "The different modes of disposal of the charred bone relics of the dead that obtained among the Vedic Āryas probably originally pertained to different strands of culture and one is tempted to attribute the urn-burial to the influence of the burial customs of the copper age people of the Lower Indus valley. Though no trace of earth-burial of charred bones has yet come to light at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, at the latter place and at Nal have been unearthed fragments of copper and earthen vessels with holes." In this connection, he refers to the jar with hundred holes required for sprinkling water on the bone relics according to the *Atharvaveda*.

As to the disposal of the Buddha's dead body, a question arises : how was the corpse of the Buddha saved from decomposition for six days preceding its cremation ? Fleet[60] suggests that the mention of perfumes and woven cloths (*dussa* = Skt. *dūrśa*) may indicate that recourse was had to

59 *MASI*, No. 31, p. 14.

60 *JRAS*, 1906, p. 660n.

some process of embalming and swathing. In this connection, he refers to Robert Knox who in his *Historical Relation of Ceylon*, Part 3, Chapter II, while describing the arrangements for cremation, has expressly mentioned disembowelling and embalming in cases where the corpse of a person of quality is not cremated speedily. Grierson,[61] however, refers to a contemporary custom in Tirhut according to which honey was used for such purposes. In 1877, he was in Madhubani, on the Nepal frontier, just at the time of Jang Bahadur's death a few miles away in the Tarai. He was told by the local people that the body was kept in a trough (? *droṇa*) filled with honey for quite a long time, while his wives were being sent for from Kathmandu, so that one or more should become *satī* at his cremation. That decomposition could be arrested at least for some days by keeping the dead body in oil was known to the ancient Indians; it is proved by the evidence of the *Satyāṣāḍhaśrautasūtra*[62] and *Vaikhānasaśrautasūtra.*[63] These two texts prescribe that, if an *āhitāgni* died away from his people, his corpse should be laid down in a tub or trough filled with sesame oil and brought home in a cart. The body of Daśaratha was likewise placed for several days in a tub containing oil till the arrival of Bharata.[64] The *Viṣṇupurāṇa*[65] states that the body of Nimi being covered with oil and fragrant substances did not become decomposed and looked as if the death was recent.

At Rajgir[66] in Period II (c. 5th to 2nd century B.C.)

---

61 *Ibid.*, pp. 1002f.

62 XXIX. 4.29.

63 XXXI. 23.

64 *Rām.*, Ayodhyā, 66.14-16; 76.5.

65 IV. 5.7.

66 *Anc. Ind.*, No. 7, p. 70.

were found traces of ten cases of a previously unknown type of post-cremation burial. These are pits with elliptical bottoms and with short funnels dug below into the soil. The funnels were filled with clay (in two cases, burial-pits Nos. 8 and 9, stone-blocks were also used) and the sides of the pits were lined with coatings of clay. The improvised 'jars' were then filled with bone-bits and ashes collected from the cremations. Only in one case (burial pit No. 9) was a thin slab of clay used for sealing the pit, the slab again being covered by a thin deposit of red gravel. Another pit (No. 10) was found to have been left unlined with clay, though it contained material similar to the lined ones.

At Bairat, below two large boulders and a layer of smaller ones, immediately in front of an Aśokan Rock Edict, Carlleyle discovered four earthen vessels in a regular line and at the same level.[67] On examination they were found to be cinerary urns containing human bones. Carlleyle thought that the cinerary urns were of great antiquity and the boulder stones could have been brought there by some flood. But, from the report of a correspondent to the *Indian Antiquary*,[68] it seems that Carlleyle was not correct in holding the urns to be of 'great antiquity'. In fact, the placing of cinerary remains in earthen vessels and burying them in some well-marked spot until they can be taken to the Ganges is a well-known practice among the Hindus. They may remain so buried for two, three or even more years ; but it is a solemn duty of their surviving relatives to carry these remains at length to the sacred river. The cinerary urns, dug up at Bairat, were similar temporary burials of the preceding three or four years. We are informed

67 Cunningham, *ASIR*, Vol. VI, p. 100.
68 Vol. X, p. 154.

by the said correspondent that, shortly after Carlleyle's visit, the neighbouring villagers complained of the sacrilege committed by the white visitor who dug up the relics of their dead.[69]

Excavations at Sonpur (Gaya District)[70] led to the discovery of some post-cremation burials, each a circular pit, about 6 ft. in diameter and 2½ ft. in depth, full of ashes, bone pieces and common types of pottery. Bones of animals and birds were frequently met with in the burials.

Excavations at Adittanallur similarly led to the discovery of an extensive area full of ashes mixed with bones and horns of animals.[71] It was covered with about a foot of silted gravel, beneath which the deposit extended in places to a depth of several feet. Rea suggests that it may be either an ancient village site or a cremation ground ; but the large quantity of ashes would appear to go against the former theory. Presuming it to be a cremation ground, the question arises as to whether or not its use was contemporary with the adjacent burials. Whatever the date of the deposit may be, the depth of the gravel which covers it proves it to be of great antiquity.

Excavations on the northern slopes of the Nagarjunikonda hill on the river bank revealed to view remains of a cremation ground, presumably of the royal family of the Ikṣvākus.[72] It had three units. The first consisted of huge pillared halls with seating arrangements, fixed *bāṇaliṅgas* at the corners and screened *maṇḍapas*. The sculpture of a lady against a ladder, as though jumping into fire, might

69 This fact apparently escaped Gordon's notice. See *Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture*, p. 161.

70 *Ind. Arch.*, 1958-59, p. 8.

71 *ASI*, A.R., 1903-04, p. 77.

72 *Ind. Arch.*, 1958-59, p. 8.

suggest that *satī* had been practised here. Slightly to the west of this and at a higher level was the second unit, also a pillared hall. Another sculpture of a lady in state was recovered from this site, along with huge pots used in funerary function. The third unit comprised a ruined temple of Śiva with a *dhvaja-stambha* in front.

NOTES

ORISSA IN KARNATAK HISTORY AND LITERATURE

P. B. Desai

Geography divides Orissa and Karnatak by a distance of several hundred miles and the vast territory of Andhra Pradesh intervenes between the two. In the political sphere, the two peoples had fewer occasions to come into closer contact with each other, either as friends or as foes. These factors offer an explanation for the paucity and vagueness of almost all allusions to Orissa in the old Kannaḍa literature and epigraphs.

This vagueness is characterized by the use of the general term Kaliṅga which roughly comprised the Ganjam District and the Puri-Cuttak region of Orissa and also the northern parts of Andhra Pradesh. While the references to Kaliṅga are larger in number, those to Uḍra or Oḍra and Utkala, the two ancient names specifically denoting Orissa proper, are met with occasionally in the inscriptions of Karnatak. It would be of some interest to consider a few of them here.

The earliest mention of Kaliṅga may be traced in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgalīśa,[1] wherein Cālukya Kīrtivarman I is credited with the subjugation, among others, of the rulers of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Magadha and Kaliṅga. According to the Aihoḷe inscription,[2] Pulakeśin II wrought terror among the Kaliṅgas in the course of his eastern expedition. The first of these allusions has to be treated as conventional, having little historical value ; and the second is too vague and general to draw any historical inference from it. It seems that, from this time onwards, it became a

1 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 17.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff., verse 26.

convention and no less a fashion with the Kannaḍa writers to mention Kaliṅga along with Aṅga and Vaṅga while enumerating the countries outside Karnatak.[3]

More useful is the description contained in the Parabhani plates af Arikesarin II,[4] patron of the reputed Kannaḍa poet Pampa The record states that Yuddhamalla I (*c.* 8th century A.D.), an early ancestor of the above chief, was ruling over the tract of one lakh and a quarter, comprising the three Kaliṅgas, along with Veṅgi. The record, however, does not explain the nature of the three Kaliṅgas.

No doubt, sometimes we come across statements which make a distinction between Āndhra and Kaliṅga. For instance, in the Wardha and Navasari plates,[5] Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II is said to have enforced allegiance from Lāṭa, Gūrjara, Āndhra, Kaliṅga and Magadha. The Kalacuri usurper Bijjala is credited with victory over Āndhra and Kaliṅga in an inscription of his son, Rāyamurāri Sovideva.[6] But the historicity of such assertions is not beyond question.

Turning to Uḍra or Oḍra, an early mention of this region as Oḍraka is found in the Sanjan plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amōghavarṣa I,[7] which speak of the subjugation of this country by Govinda III. 'Oḍḍaha' occurring in a record of Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana[8] must be identical with Oḍraka.

With their boundaries extending over the Āndhra areas, the Vijayanagara rulers came into closer contacts with Orissa, particularly during the time of the second and third dynasties. Narasiṁha I of the Sāḷuva lineage carried his arms as far as Orissa beyond the Āndhra territory. The

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 129, 171.
4 *Q. J. Bh. It. Saṁ. Maṇḍal*, Poona, Vol. XIII, No. 3.
5 *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 239-69.
6 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 319.
7 *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 245.
8 Derrett, *The Hoysaḷas*, p. 69.

triumphant expedition of Kṛṣṇadevarāya against the Gajapati king Pratāparudra of Orissa constitutes an important landmark in the history of the Vijayanagara empire. Hence this achievement was arrogated for themselves, even without proper justification, by the later rulers of this dynasty, whose *praśasti* is often embellished with the *viruda Oḍḍiyarāya-diśāpaṭṭa*,[9] i.e. 'vanquisher of the king of the Oḍḍiya country.' 'Oḍḍiya' here evidently stands for Orissa.

Still less known is the name Utkala. Scholars like Fleet[10] and Kielhorn[11] thought that Taila II, founder of the later line of the Western Cālukyas, led an expedition against the Utkala country. But this view is erroneous, based as it is on the confusion between the expressions Utkala and Utpala, the latter of which was another name of the Paramāra king Muñja.[12] Utkala, however, occurs in the description of the exploits of Mallugi, an early member of the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri, wherein he is credited with the capture of a troop of elephants belonging to the king of Utkala.[13] In the charters of the rulers of the fourth dynasty of Vijayanagara,[14] we come across the grandiloquent title, *Utkalendra-jaya-paṇḍita*, i.e. 'adept in overpowering the king of Utkala'. But this seems to be only a late echo of Kṛṣṇadevarāya's victory over the Gajapati king of Orissa, alluded to above.

Apart from such notices of uncertain value, there is no denying the fact that, in ancient and mediaeval Indian

---

9 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 229, etc.

10 *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 431.

11 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV. p. 207. The original reading is *Utpala* only; but it was wrongly corrected to *Utkala* by Kielhorn.

12 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 168.

13 *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 516.

14 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 250.

history, Karnatak played a more impressive role in the political and cultural spheres, and influenced many far and near regions including Orissa.

The Eastern Gaṅgas ruling over parts of Orissa from about the fifth century must have been connected with the Western Gaṅgas of the Old Mysore territory. In like manner, the ancestry of the Kadambas who ruled in Orissa as feudatories of the later Gaṅgas during the tenth and eleventh centuries, goes back to the Kannaḍa country. During the early decades of the twelfth century, the area around the Sambalpur District was ruled by the nobles of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family hailing from Karnatak as disclosed by the Bargarh copper-plate record of Paracakraśalya, dated in Saṁvat 56, probably of the Cālukya-Vikrama era.[15]

Orissa experienced the impact of Karnatak culture to a considerable extent in the domain of religion and philosophy. The Vaiṣṇavite movement sponsored by Ānandatīrtha or Madhv-ācārya, a native of the South Kanara District, spread far and wide in many parts of India including Orissa. Naraharitīrtha, one of the foremost of his disciples, preached the Vaiṣṇava gospel in Orissa during the reign of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III. Many distinguished persons, including members of the royal household, became converts to this new faith. Noteworthy is the change brought about in the persuasion of the ruling house of the Gaṅgas themselves. The kings of this dynasty, who were originally Śaivite, became the followers of the Vaiṣṇava school from the time of the above-named ruler.[16]

---

15 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 135ff. [For the Tailapa-vaṁśīs in Orissa, see *ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 141ff.—Ed.]

16 *Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. VIII, pp. 43 ff. [The Eastern Gaṅgas became Vaiṣṇavas devoted to Puruṣottama-Jagannātha of Purī from the days of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.) who conquered the Purī-Cuttack region. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 237-38.—Ed.]

Naraharitirtha acted as regent of the infant Gaṅga king Narasiṁha II and governed the kingdom for more than thirty years. A large number of inscriptions belonging to this period, wherein Narharitīrtha figures as the donor, have been found in the temples of Simhachalam and Srikurmam.[17]

The services rendered by Naraharitīrtha both as administrator and religious teacher in the kingdom of Orissa proved to be epoch-making in the annals of the Mādhvas of Karnatak. The *Narahariyatistotra* narrates that, as a reward for his selfless services, Naraharitītha secured from the royal treasury the sanctified images of Śrī-Rāma and Sītā and handed them over to his *guru* Ānandatīrtha. These images, ever since, are under perpetual adoration in one of the Mādhva *mațhas* of Karnatak and every follower of the faith is acquainted with the mysterious accounts of their historic origin and acquisition. This may be considered as a unique living link between the two territories, Orissa and Karnatak.[18]

17 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 262 and n.

18 Incidentally, a few more points of contact between the two regions bearing cultural significance may be mentioned here. In the *Sarasvatīvilāsacampū*, the unsullied fame of the Gajapati king Kapileśvara is compared, strangely enough to the spotless laughter of the amorous ladies of Karnatak. The title *Aṇiyaṅkabhīma* which means 'a veteran warrior, formibable on the battle-field,' assumed by some of the Gaṅga kings has to be traced to Kannaḍa origin, since the expressions *aṇi* and *aṅka* bear special significance in that language. It is interesting to observe that tales current in the Oriya tradition and folklore contain frequent allusions to the rulers and chiefs hailing from the Karnatak area.

HARISIṀHADEVA AND THE KARṆĀṬA INVASION OF NEPAL

UPENDRA THAKUR

Some time back, R.C. Majumdar published a paper dealing with king Harisiṁha of Mithilā,[1] who was the last great king of the Karṇāṭa dynasty founded by Nānyadeva in 1097-98 A.D.[2] A zealous reformer and an indomitable warrior, Harisiṁha had a stormy political career, and he will go down in the history of the land for his brave and memorable deeds.[3]

Majumdar raised some points which deserve the attention of scholars. These may be summarised as follows :—

(1) Bhūpālasiṁha ruled after Śaktisiṁha and before Harisiṁha, according to a seventeenth century epigraphic record of Pratāpamalladeva.[4]

(2) Harisiṁha ascended the throne of Mithilā about 1285 A.D., and not in 1303 or 1307 A.D.

(3) Harisiṁha scored successes against the Muslims 'either during the last days of the Mamluk Sultāns after the death of Balban (1287 A.D.) or during the chaos and confusion that followed the death of 'Alā-uddīn Khaljī (1316 A.D.).'[5]

(4) The conquest of Nepal by Caṇḍeśvara, his minister, 'need not necessarily be referred to a time after the

---

1 R. C. Majumdar, 'King Harisiṁha of Mithilā' in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XLIII, Pts. i-ii, 1957 (March-June), pp. 1 ff. This now appears in the *Delhi Sultanate*, ed. Majumdar.

2 For other details, see Thakur, *History of Mithilā*, Ch. V.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 278 ff.

4 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 188.

5 Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

defeat of Harisiṁha by Ghiyās-uddīn Tughluq'.[6] The *tulāpuruṣa* ceremony, celebrated by Caṇḍeśvara in 1314 A.D., followed upon the conquest of Nepal as suggested by M. M. Chakravarti, and this seems to be 'a very reasonable view.'[7]

(5) Harisiṁha was not defeated; on the other hand, he 'successfully defended' himself in his impregnable citadel in the dense forest of Nepal Tarai, while the Muslim army overran the plains of Tirhut. He was, however, forced to leave the plains probably on the 14th December, 1325 A.D. (not in 1324 A.D.), and to abandon his own kingdom and settle in Nepal, which had already acknowledged his suzerainty, and he entered, not conquered, Nepal.[8]

From the inscription of Pratāpamalladeva of Kathmandu, referred to above, we learn that Bhūpālasiṁha was the predecessor of Harisiṁha, who, like Malladeva, son of Nānyadeva, may be treated as 'a forgotten king of Mithilā'. But, while we have one inscription in the name of Malladeva,[9] there is no record of Pratāpasiṁha to enlighten us on his reign-period. Candra Jhā also quotes a Pañjī verse running on the same line.[10] In the genealogy thus presented, it is nowhere explicitly mentioned that Bhūpāla succeeded as 'king' immediately after the death of Śaktisiṁha, the father of Harisiṁha.[11] He is, however, referred to as 'king' which does not necessarily mean that he ever ascended the throne. He was entitled to this royal prerogative because he was the real claimant to the throne.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 3.
7 *Loc. cit.*
8 *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.
9 *Hist. Mith.*, pp. 254 ff.
10 *Ibid.*, p. 279, note 1.
11 D. R Regmi believes that Bhūpālasiṁha was the father of Harisiṁha (*Ancient and Mediaeval Nepal*, p. 152).

Had he been alive and ruled over the land even for some time, there are no reasons why the contemporary works should have kept silent on his reign while they have eulogised the petty deeds of Harisiṁha's predecessors and of Harisiṁha himself in no uncertain terms. Moreover, we have to remember that the inscription of Pratāpamalla is based on hearsay and has nothing to do with the official *Vaṁśāvalī* which are often so conflicting in the presentation of facts.

This assumption is not 'gratuitous', but is quite reasonable in view of the evidence at our disposal. Śaktisiṁha's help to 'Alā-uddīn Khaljī in course of the latter's Ranthambhor expedition in 1300 A.D. is no doubt based on a Mithilā tradition, recorded by Vidyāpati in his *Puruṣaparīkṣā*,[12] which slightly conflicts with the account given by Mullā Taqiā in his Diary, but nevertheless finds indirect corroboration from it.[13] It is true that the tradition is not supported by any other Muslim chronicler; but it is also true that this event, though an object of pride for the Maithilas, was not so significant as to merit the attention of the contemporary Muslim chroniclers, for Śaktisiṁha represented a tiny tract with nothing remarkable to command their genuine respect.

The trouble lies in the fact that sometimes we take for granted everything contained in an epigraph and ignore the eulogistic character of such documents. Had it been a contemporary record, we would have taken it as a genuine fact. But, as we know, the record was issued some three hundred years later, and that too in a foreign land, whereas

---

12 Cf. *Dayāvīrakathāprasaṅga* of the *Puruṣaparīkṣā*, ed. Ramanatha Jha. Caṇḍeśvara in his *Kṛtyacintāmaṇi* also describes him as *Hambīra-dhvānta-bhānu* (*Hist. Mith.*, p. 276, note 1).

13 For details, see *ibid.*, pp. 275-76 (note 3); R. K. Choudhary, *History of Muslim Rule in Tirhut* (in the press).

the land of his birth and activities has nothing to record in his favour. If Harisiṁha's reign is placed in 1303 or 1307 A.D., and not in the last decade of the thirteenth century, it does not at all create the problem of a missing link in the political history of Mithilā,[14] and for that matter, in the history of Bihar. It is, on the other hand, fully in consonance with the date of Śaktisiṁha's death recorded in contemporary literary accounts of 1296 A.D., for Harisiṁha is said to have been a minor when he ascended the throne and the administration was looked after by Caṇḍeśvara, his able and faithful minister. Moreover, the tendency to disregard the local traditions as always untrustworthy, when they do not suit our hypotheses, is unsatisfactory for it is these traditions that offer light when other sources fail. It is particularly true in the case of Mithilā, which has been a land of literary and philosophical tradition throughout the centuries, and which has no recorded history fully based on official documents and other historical sources.

A verse in the *Dānaratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara says that the king rescued the earth flooded by the Mlecchas.[15] Jyotirīśvara's *Dhūrtasamāgama* (a two-act comedy played at Harisiṁha's court in Nepal) also records that the king conquered the *Suratrāṇa* or Sultān, meaning some Muslim king or chief. The introductory verse of the *Sugatisopāna*[16] further confirms the statement by giving a poignant picture of the chaotic condition of the time. All these statements clearly show that Harisiṁha had to fight against some Muslim invader whom he ultimately succeeded in defeating.

---

14 *Hist. Mith.*, pp. 279-80.

15 R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. VI, p. 135, No. 2069 (verse 2).

16 Introductory verse 4.

The above statements have not been taken to refer to Harisiṁha's fight with Ghiyās-uddīn Tughluq in 1324 A.D. as Majumdar takes it to be. We have thoroughly dealt with this aspect of Muslim invasion showing that the invading Sulṭān was probably Bahādur Shāh, the king of Bengal, for it is said that at the instigation of Bughra Shāh, the eldest son of Fīrūz Shāh, and the brother of Rukn-uddīn, and his brother Nāsir-uddīn (who took refuge with emperor Tughluq Shāh in 1320 A.D., after having been defeated by his brother, Bahādur Shāh), emperor Tughluq Shāh or Sulṭān Ghiyās-uddīn invaded Bengal. When the Imperial army left for Delhi, Bahādur Shāh returned to Sonārgāon while Nāsir-uddīn joined the emperor in Tirhut, submitted to him and went to Lakhnāwatī where he was confirmed by the emperor as Governor.[17] It is, therefore, natural to conclude that the composition of the *Dānaratnākara* and *Dhūrtasamāgama* took place only after the expulsion of this invader who had tried to usurp the kingdom of Mithilā, but failed,[18] probably sometime after 1316 A.D. Hence the exalting references to the victory of Harisiṁha and his ministers over the Muslim Sulṭān after a long and bloody fight.

The theory about the conquest of Nepal is another knotty problem, which has been variously interpreted by different scholars. Majumdar, following M.M. Chakravarti, believes that Nepal had acknowledged Harisiṁha's suzerainty long before he entered it in 1325 A.D. and settled there, after having been forced by the armies of Ghiyās-uddīn Tughluq to leave Tirhut. In support of this contention, it is said that Caṇḍeśvara performed the *tulāpuruṣa* ceremony in 1314 A.D. (which evidently followed the

17 *Hist. Mith.*, p. 404; *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 115-16; *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. II (ed. J. N. Sarkar), p. 84; *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 133-34; *Riyāzus-Salātīn* by Ghulam Husain Salim, trans. A. Abdus Salim, p. 84, note 1; *Rājanītiratnākara* (ed. K. P. Jayaswal), p. 18; *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, trans., Vol. I, p. 213.

18 For another version, see *Hist. Mith.*, p. 404, note 4.

6

conquest of Nepal)—a fact recorded in Caṇḍeśvara's *Kṛtyaratnākara*.[19]

Another writer believes that the conquest of the valley of Nepal was effected in 1314 A.D.[20] The chronicles of Wright and Bhagwanlal put 1324 A.D. as the first date of occupation of the Nepal Valley by Harisiṁhadeva.[21] According to the former, Harisiṁha, however, could not retain his hold for long partly due to the stiff resistance put up by the Malla rulers and partly due to the hovering clouds of the Tughluq invasion over the horizon of his original kingdom of Tirhut. But when he was forced to retire to the hills by the conquering Tughluq armies, he devoted himself solely to the consolidation of his position there.[22] Yet there is another scholar who has of late advanced the theory that this conquest of Nepal by Harisiṁha was not effected at all,[23] and he has been strongly supported by D.R. Regmi in his latest work on the history of Nepal,[24] though in his earlier work, referred to above, he expressed his agreement with the other writers.

In the face of these conflicting theories, it is very difficult to arrive at a definite conclusion. If we regard the view of M. M. Chakravarti as 'very reasonable', then how is it that the *Vaṁśāvalī* and the earlier inscriptions of Nepal have nothing to say on this most important episode of Nepal history in the first quarter of the fourteenth century ? Supposing that this conquest was a reality, what about the ruler or rulers who were installed there by Harisiṁha to rule in his name ? But the history of Nepal

19 *India Office Cat.* (ed. Eggeling), Vol. III, No. 1387.
20 D. R. Regmi, *op. cit.*, pp. 150 ff.
21 *Ibid.*, p. 15.
22 *Ibid.*, pp. 150-51.
23 L. Petech, *Medieval History of Nepal*, pp. 195 ff.
24 *Mediaeval Nepal*, Part I, pp. 271 ff.

during the period under review is full of conflict and warfare and rules out any possibility of such a stable government. We, therefore, fail to understand how Harisiṁha's entry into Nepal could have been so smooth as to allow him to devote solely to the consolidation of his power and position there, quite unchallenged and unobstructed. It is very difficult to believe that a king who was uprooted and chased from his own country could have had so easy a movement in the foreign land of Nepal. The *Vaṁśāvalī* and the later inscriptions throw a good deal of light on Harisiṁha's descendants who happened to rule over the territory after him. All these show that the conquest was effected only after his rout at the hands of the Muslims, and not prior to that. Had it been otherwise, Mithilā traditions and other contemporary accounts would not have left it unnoticed and ignored. Caṇḍeśvara's account at best refers to the skirmish between the then Nepalese king and the forces of Harisiṁha in which the former was defeated. He nowhere states that Nepal, after having been conquered, was also occupied. As the borders of these two territories overlapped, such skirmishes might have been frequent.

Moreover, it is not unnatural that a fleeing king should conquer another territory. Such instances are numerous in history. Isāmī, author of the *Futuhus-Salātīn*, whose account has been accepted by Majumdar, nowhere refers to an open and sanguinary battle between the Rājā of Tirhut and the armies of Ghiyās-uddīn Tughluq. We are simply told that the Rājā retreated into the northern hills. This is further supported by *Basātīn-ul-uns*, a literary work of the fourteenth century.[25] The chief value of this

25 The account of the Tirhut expedition is given in folios 11A-13A. The manuscript is preserved in the K. P. Jayaswal Institute, Patna. The author is grateful to Prof. S. H. Askari for the information.

book lies in what one gets in it about Ghiyās-uddīn Tughluq and his Tirhut expedition in which the author Muḥammad Sadr Ula Ahmad Hasan Dabir-i-Idusi (entitled Taj and well-known as Ikhtisan) himself was an active participant.

After giving a flowery description of the march of the Tughluq army, the author concludes: "Pale-faced and restless like the falling leaves, he (Harisiṁhadeva) cited the verses of flight. In the hope of attaining freedom or deliverance, he caught hold of the skirt or declivity of the mountain and, taking his abode in the central belt thereof (*kamar-i-koh*), he concealed himself like fire in the stone." It is thus clear that Harisiṁha had not to lose even a single soldier, and, therefore, with the preparations that he undertook to meet the challenge of the invading Muslims, he could have conquered the Nepal valley, which was then torn asunder due to the conflicts of the rival claimants. Moreover, the traditional passage—*tyaktvā sva-pattana-puriṁ Harisiṁhadevo durdaiva-deśita-patho girim = āviveśa*—clearly indicates that he entered the hills, and not Nepal as Majumdar has interpreted it to suggest.[26] In other words, it is more reasonable to suggest, in the present state of our knowledge, that Harisiṁha conquered Nepal, after fleeing from the plains, and settled there for the rest of his life. That Harisiṁha never conquered Nepal, as suggested by some writers referred to above, goes against all historical traditions and genuine inscriptional evidence.

As regards Ghiyās-uddīn's conquest of Tirhut, it is clear from all available accounts—Muslim and non-Muslim—that Harisiṁha had to flee from Tirhut and seek refuge in the hills. The Muslim army overran the whole plain of Tirhut. We are told that Harisiṁha 'successfully defended himself in his impregnable citadel in the dense forest of Nepal Tarai'.[27]

---

26 Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 6; see. *Hist. Mith.*, p. 284, note 2.
27 Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

This so-called 'successful' heroic and gallant defence carries no meaning in view of the fact that he was forced to abandon his capital and go over to Nepal. Whether or not he had to face an open encounter, the fact remains that he was subdued and forced to leave his own kingdom.

Harisiṁha is said to have transferred his capital to Simrāon—a place which was geographically and strategically safe keeping in view the impending Muslim invasion and plunder. His predecessors had their capital at other places and by the time of Śaktisiṁha, the Muslim invaders had already reached the borders of Tirhut. Foresight and statesmanship demanded that the old capital must be transferred to a safer place, from which the king could successfully resist and thus escape the depredations caused by the advancing Muslim army. Simrāon, as we know, was situated on the Nepal-Tirhut border having the dense and impregnable jungles of Nepal at the back, where he could easily take shelter in times of emergency, which he actually did when the occasion arose.

It makes little difference if we accept 1324 or 1325 A.D. as the probable date for Harisiṁha's entry into Nepal. In either case, there is difference of a few months, which does not in the least affect the Mithilā chronology. Mithilā tradition, however, refers to Śaka 1245 or 1323-24 A.D., and the accounts of the Muslim historians also tend to confirm it.[28] Any way, in our opinion, there is no harm if we accept it.[29]

---

28 For different views, see S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 220; H. C. Ray, *Dyn. Hist. North. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 217, note 2; *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1915, pp. 11-12, notes 4 and 5; Vol. LXV, Part I, pp. 30-31.

29 For a detailed account of the Muslim invasion during this period, see R. K. Choudhary, *History of Muslim Rule in Tirhut* (in the press).

THE LICCHAVI PARISĀ OF VAIŚĀLĪ

SHIV NANDAN MISHRA

The Licchavis were a virile people, proud both of their lineage and institutions, and occupying a place of honour in the country. Their metropolitan assembly or *Parisā* was one of the stoutest pillars of their magnificent constitutional edifice. We propose to determine its numerical strength on the basis of the Buddhist canonical texts and the Jātakas.

The Buddha showered ecstatic praise on the Licchavi *Parisā* and compared it with the *Parisā* of the Tāvatiṁsa gods.[1] This is significant inasmuch as the decisions of the *Parisā* of the gods of the Tāvatiṁsa heaven were inviolable; similarly, the decisions of the Licchavi *Parisā* were not to be slighted in any way by the Licchavi people. Also the noble bearing of the Licchavi *Rājās* and their dignified and disciplined code of conduct in the *Parisā* must have attracted the attention of the Master.

The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* at one place simply states: "Now at that time, a great many Licchavi notables were seated assembled in their Moot Hall (*Santhāgāra*)."[2] Here the number of the participant members is not specified; simply their large number is alluded to. At another place, the same text informs us that while the Buddha was at Vaiśālī, he was worshipped by 500 Licchavi *Rājās*.[3] At yet another place, the same text states: "Now at that time, 500 Licchavis met and were seated at the Sārandada shrine."[4]

---

1 *SBE,* Vol. XI, p. 32.
2 *Op. cit.*, Pt. IV, p. 179.
3 *Ibid.*, Pt. V, p. 133.
4 *Ibid.*, Pt. III, p. 167.

It would thus be seen that the *Aṅguttara* in two contexts refers to 500 Licchavi *Rājās* occupying the place of honour and commanding some special status. The *Majjhima Nikāya*, however, is more explicit and hardly leaves any doubt when it states: "Just then 500 of the Licchavis met together in their moot hall on one business or another."[5] Thus, the evidence of the *Majjhima* regarding the numerical strength of the Licchavi *Parisā* is not only corroborative of the *Aṅguttara*, but is also clearly suggestive of the fact that its strength was 500, neither more nor less.

The same numerical strength is also echoed in one of the Jātakas, viz., the *Bhaddasāla Jātaka.*[6] It relates how 500 angry Licchavi *Rājās* pursued the Kosalan commander-in-chief Bandhula of the Malla clan, who had violated the sanctity of their sacred pond, the water of which was used in the annointing (*abhiseka*) of the republican Licchavi *Rājās* (*gaṇa-rāja-kula*). It would thus be seen that at least one Jātaka goes in support of the two Nikāya texts quoted above.

However, the evidence of the Jātakas has often been taken to furnish a different number. The preamble of the *Ekapaṇṇa Jātaka* runs thus: "In the city of Vaiśālī, there were 7,707 *Rājās* to govern the state (*rajjaṁ kāretvā*) and a like number of *Uparājas*, *Senāpatis* and *Bhaṇḍāgārikas*."[7] The *Cullakaliṅga Jātaka*[8] corroborates this evidence: "Tradition says that the Licchavis of the ruling family (*Licchavi-rajjinaṁ*) to the number of 7,707 had their abode at Vaiśālī and all of them were given to argument and disputation (*te sabbe pi paripucchā vitakkā hesuṁ*)."

It would be worthwhile to analyse the statement of

5 *Op. cit.*, Pt. I, p. 228.
6 *Jātaka*, Vol. IV, p. 149.
7 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 505.

the two Jātakas in the light of their own words. The *Ekapaṇṇa Jātaka* attributes the governance of the state to 7,707 Licchavi *Rājās* with the help and assistance of a like number of *Uparājas*, *Senāpatis* and *Bhaṇḍāgārikas*. The *Cullakaliṅga Jātaka* focusses our attention on the debating habits of these 7,707 Licchavi *Rājās*. Both these Jātakas establish clearly that the 7,707 Licchavi *Rājās* were residents of Vaiśālī implicitly denying them any separate territorial jurisdiction. None of these Jātakas states expressly that these 7,707 Licchavi *Rājās* were the members of the Licchavi *Parisā* of Vaiśālī. Neither do they mention that they were consecrated. We have seen that in the *Bhaddasāla Jātaka*, when the sanctity of their sacred pond is violated, 500, and not 7,707, Licchavi *Rājās* chased the violator. From the practical point of view, the number 7,707 is too large for any *Santhāgāra* to afford sitting accommodation. If we presume for an instant that the membership of the *Parisā* was also open to the *Uparājas*, *Senāpatis* and *Bhaṇḍāgārikas*, the number would swell to 30,828, which would be an absurdity. Moreover, concord and unanimity of views would not have been possible in such a huge body of 7,707 members. These were referred to by the Buddha as the stanchions of the republican edifice of Licchavis.[9] Thus, these arguments lead us to two conclusions: that all these 7,707 Licchavi *Rājās* were not the members of the Licchavi *Parisā* of Vaiśālī; and that all these 7,707 were not consecrated.

At the same time, we cannot lose sight of the special status of *Rājā* conferred on them by the Jātakas and also the fact that they were the members of the ruling aristocracy. Thus they seem to have been the heads or representatives of the pioneer Licchavi families of Vaiśālī. Together they formed a general body of the ruling

8 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 1.

9. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, Pt. IV, pp. 15 ff.

aristocracy. Obviously, from amongst these 7,707 Licchavi *Rājās*, 500 were selected to become the members of the *Parisā* and were consecrated. The criteria for this selection or election might have been seniority, wisdom, exemplary courage, prowess and blue blood. As such, the *Parisā* would have consisted of the choicest Licchavi brains and brawns who had proved their mettle and wisdom. This would very well conform to the praise heaped on this *Parisā* by the great Buddha. These members may have been the *Vajji-mahallakas* to whom the Buddha referred and whom he asked the Licchavis to venerate and to listen to.[10]

It can be reasonably suggested that perhaps there were two assemblies at Vaiśālī—(1) a general assembly of 7,707 and (2) a select one of 500 members. These would echo the pattern of the Vedic assemblies of *sabhā* and *samiti*.*

10 *Loc. cit.*

* [Elsewhere we quoted a few stories about dacoities from the Jātakas, in which the gang of robbers is in all cases mentioned as 500 strong, so that the number 500 appears to be conventional. See *Journ. Or, Inst.*, Vol. XV, p. 378.—Ed.]

DHARMACAKRA-JINA IN THE SĀRNĀTH INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRADEVĪ

Dilip Kumar Biswas

The Sārnāth inscription of Kumāradevī, the consort of the Gāhaḍavāla ruler Govindacandra who belonged to the twelfth century A.D., was edited by Sten Konow in the *Epigraphia Indica*.[1] The object of the record is stated in verses 21-23 and, as summed up by the editor, it reveals the following facts : Jumbukī drew up a copper-plate record in which she represented to queen Kumāradevī that the Dharmacakra-Jina originally set up by Dharmāśoka required to be repaired and set up again. The queen accepted her representation and raised her to the rank of "the foremost of *pattalikās*". She also restored the Jina or set up a new one and placed it in a *vihāra* which was either the same as has been mentioned in verse 21 apparently containing an image of the goddess Vasudhārā, or a new one constructed for the purpose. Further, the wish is expressed that, after having been placed there, the Jina may remain there for ever.

One of the points of interest in the inscription, apart from the information regarding contemporary political history that it contains, is the reference to the restoration of the Dharmacakra-Jina which is said to have been originally set up 'in the days Dharmāśoka the ruler of men' (*Dharmāśoka-narādhipasya samaye śrī-Dharmacakra-Jino yādrik tan-naya-rakṣitaḥ punar = ayañ = cakre tato = py = adbhutam*). Besides the Junāgaḍh rock inscription of the Scythian ruler Rudradāman (2nd century A.D.), this is the only other post-Maurya epigraphic record, so far known, that mentions

1 Vol. IX, pp. 319-28.

the great Maurya emperor Aśoka.* The latter is supposed to have been mentioned in two other foreign inscriptions discovered at Buddhagayā, viz. one of the Chinese monk Yün-shu (eleventh century) and another Burmese inscription (also ascribed to the eleventh century by Cunningham).[2] According to the translation of H.A. Giles, the Chinese record contains a reference to king Aśoka who is apparently connected here in some way or other with the building of the *sambhogakāya* of the Buddha—possibly indicating the present Buddhagayā temple itself, an attribution that cannot be accepted. It should be noted, however, that P. C. Bagchi has translated the inscription a little differently, and he finds no reference to king Aśoka in it.[3] The Burmese inscription on the other hand clearly reckons the Buddhagayā temple as one of the 84,000 shrines said to have been erected by king Dharmāśoka, the ruler of Jambudvīpa, two hundred and eighteen years after the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha.

One should remember that of all these epigraphic references, only that of the Junāgaḍh record, associating Aśoka's name with the administration of the Surāṣṭra region as well as with the Sudarśana lake, is of purely historical nature. Aśoka's name here is stated without any epithet, as Aśoka the Maurya. Later allusions (including the doubtful one of Yün-shu) mainly show a general acquaintance with the legends and traditions about the Buddhist emperor. This is indicated by the use of the attribution of the raising of 84,000 Buddhist shrines including the finished Buddhagayā temple to him. It is well known to

*[See also the Ṣālihuṇḍam inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 87-88.—Ed.]

2 Cunningham, *Mahābodhi* (Reprint, Varanasi), pp. 69-71, 75-77; B. M. Barua, *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, Vol. II, p. 40.

3 *India and China*, Calcutta, 1944, pp. 89-94.

the students of Aśokan traditions that the epithets Caṇḍāśoka and Dharmāśoka are applied to the Maurya king with reference to the successive phases of his life in the Pāli *Mahāvaṁsa*[4] and the Northern *Divyāvadāna*;[5] and also both the Southern and Northern Buddhist texts credit Aśoka with the erection of 84,000 shrines.—*ārāmas* or *vihāras* in the language of the Pāli source,[6] and *dharmarājikas* according to the *Divyāvadāna*.[7] The Pāli chronicles moreover places Aśoka's consecration two hundred and eighteen years after the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha, a figure mentioned in the aforesaid Burmese inscription at Buddhagayā.

The expression *Dharmacakra-Jina* occurring in the Sārnāth inscription has not yet been explained satisfactorily. Sten Konow has inferred from the description that the Jina, said to have existed since the time of Dharmāśoka, was an image of the Buddha and the *vihāra* built by Kumāradevī for this image was a shrine—a *gandhakuṭi*, the name originally given to the house in which the Buddha had lived and afterwards applied to any shrine or temple in which a Buddha image was installed. He found it difficult to explain the wish expressed in verse 23 that the 'image' might reside there for ever, under any other supposition.[8] Sm. Roma Neogi in her study of the history of Gāhaḍavāla rule has left the expression virtually unexplained.[9] On one occasion, she refers to it as 'an ancient institution' that was 'restored or rebuilt by Kumāradevī'.[10] This description is inappropriate and throws no light on the subject.

---

4 V. 189.

5 Ed. Cowell and Neil, pp. 374, 381, 382.

6 *Dīpavaṁsa*, VI. 96, 99; Buddhaghosa, *Samantapāsādikā*, Vol. I, pp. 48-49.

7 *Op. cit.*, pp. 379, 381.

8 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 320.

9 *The History of the Gāhaḍavāla Dynasty*, Calcutta, 1959, pp. 158, 199, 205-06, 210.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 210.

Separated from its context, the expression *Dharmacakra-Jina* would appear to stand for an image of the Buddha in the well-known pose of the 'turning of the Wheel of Law' (*dharmacakra-pravartana*) or the preaching of his first sermon in the deer-park at Sārnāth near Varanasi. The epithet *Jina*, in the sense of 'conqueror' or 'victor', has been often applied to the Buddha in Buddhist canonical literature.[11] This meaning obviously appealed to Sten Konow; but unfortunately he overlooked its difficulties in this particular context. If the Dharmacakra-Jina is to be associated with the Maurya king Aśoka in the way the epigraphic passage in question does, it cannot possibly have stood for a Buddha image. For, there was a convention against representing the Buddha in human form in early Buddhism, and it is well known to the student of Indian art that the human figure of the Buddha came to be introduced in Indian iconoplastic art nearly four or five centuries after the death of the Master.[12] Previous to this, the Buddha had always been represented in art through a number of symbols like the *vajrāsana*, a couple of footprints, the wheel or the *stūpa*, the sacred *bodhi* tree and a number of animals like the elephant, lion, bull, etc. Maurya art of the third century B.C. was no exception to this general rule as the almost life-size animal figures crowning the Aśokan columns, most of the animal sculptures as well as the 'wheel' symbol on the abacus of the capitals, the independent sculptured elephants at Dhauli or the engraved line-drawing of an elephant at Kalsi would indicate.* Since therefore the representation of the Buddha in human shape must have

---

11 *Majjhima Nikāya*, I. 171: *jitā me pāpakā dhammā tasmāhaṁ Jino='ti;* cf. also *Sutta Nipāta*, pp. 379, 679, 989, 996, etc.

12. Coomaraswamy, *Hist. Ind. Indon. Art*, 1927, p. 31.

*[See also the label of the lost elephant at Girnar (*CII*, Vol. I, pp. 26-27).—Ed.]

been unknown to the sculpture of Aśoka's day, it is not possible to interpret the expression *Dharmacakra-Jina*, which the Sārnāth inscription associates with Aśoka, as a human image of the Buddha belonging to the reign of the Maurya ruler.

The important point to remember in this connection is that the real meaning of the passage in question would depend largely on the view we take of the nature of the evidence offered by Kumāradevī's record. The Chinese inscription of Yün-shu probably and the Burmese inscription categorically state that Aśoka was the builder of the Buddhagayā temple and these base themselves mainly on legend. Modern critical scholarship, however, has refused to accept this traditional account at its face value. "King Aśoka", says B.M. Barua,[13] "cannot possibly be given the credit of building the temple on any other ground than that it is he who gave the real impetus to artistic development in the life of the Buddhist holy land. He is far from being the builder of the great shrine." Barua even disagrees with Cunningham's view, based on Hiuen-tsang's description, that the earlier sand-stone enclosure of the Bodhi Tree at Buddhagayā was a railing erected originally by Aśoka.[14] If Aśoka's association with Buddhagayā as evidenced by his Rock Edict VIII could later create a traditon—historically inaccurate—of his having been the builder of the said temple, his association with Sārnāth proved by the existence of his pillar there,[15] might possibly also have created a similar tradition which would

13 B. M. Barua, *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, Vol. II, p. 40.

14 Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, pp. 4-7; Barua, *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, Vol. II, p. 17.

15 Northern Buddhist tradition as represented by the *Divyāvadāna* also contains an account of Aśoka's visit to Ṛsipatana or Sārnāth among other Buddhist holy places, in the company of Upagupta (cf. *Divyāvadāna, op. cit.*, p. 393).

naturally induce subsequent credulous generations, unacquainted with genuine historical facts, to ascribe the origin of any later Buddhist monument or image of the locality, to him. If the reference in the Sārnāth inscription of Kumāradevī, in harmony with this popular psychology, drew inspiration from legend, and not from history, the expression *Dharmacakra-Jina* might after all be interpreted as a Buddha-image posed in the *dharmacakra-mudrā*; but in that case, we should have to assume further that such an image was centuries later than Aśoka, and it is only the memory of the association of the pious Buddhist emperor with the Sārnāth region that had led Jambukī to connect its origin with Aśoka.

It is, however, possible to look at the expression from another angle. There is ample evidence that in early Buddhist art the *dharmacakra* (the Wheel of Doctrine) was one of the sacred symbols representing the Buddha himself. Now, of the Aśokan columns, the one at Sārnāth is of particular interest to us in this respect. Like the other Aśokan pillars, it was a monolith cut out of a single block of sand stone 'crowned by four semi-lions joined back to back at the shoulders'; but its unique feature is that its lion-capital was in its turn crowned by a stone-wheel two feet nine inches in diameter. The original capital and a few pieces of the original wheel, undoubtedly representing the sacred *dharmacakra* of the Buddhists, are now in the Sārnāth Museum.[16] The 'wheel' symbol also figures very prominently on the abacus of the Sārnāth capital. This is quite in the fitness of things as Sārnāth is the place where the Buddha originally turned the 'Wheel of the Doctrine' according to Buddhist canonical tradition,[17] and

16 D. R. Sahni, *Guide to the Buddhist Remains of Sārnāth*, Delhi, 1933, pp. 24-25.

17 *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, V. 56. 11-12.

a pious Buddhist like Aśoka would naturally wish to crown the column that he erected here with a representation of it. It is to be noted that the similar capital of four lions attached to the Sanchi pillar of Aśoka did not support a 'Wheel of the Doctrine' (*dharmacakra*) as it did at Sārnāth.[18] That figures of *dharmacakra* standing on the top of columns were worshipped by pious Buddhists, is clearly indicated by a medallion from Barhut showing devotees in the act of such worship of the wheel on the capital of a fluted free-standing column.[19] In view of the fact that the Dharmacakra-Jina mentioned in the Sārnāth inscription is stated to have been originally set up by Aśoka and also that the *dharmacakra*, an object of reveren ial worship to the Buddhists, used to symbolise the Buddha iu the art of the Maurya period, it would not probably be altogether unreasonable to suggest that the Dharmacakra-Jina in the pa ticular context was not a human figure of the Buddha, but actual'y a wheel repr senting the 'Wheel of the Doctrine' which originally formed the topmost crown of an Aśokan column at Sārnāth. Verse 23 of the record indicates that the Dharmacakra-Jina was 'restored' by the queen 'in accordance with the way in which he existed in the days of Dharmāśoka'. This apparently means that the holy object was duly enshrined in t e *vihāra* which, according to verse 21, Kumāradevī had caused to be built. Possibly, by the twelfth century, it had already been detached from the original column and the object actually enshrined was this detached capital carrying the wheel and not the entire pillar. In the seventh century, Hiuen-

18 Marshall, *A Guide to Sanchi*, p. 102n. N. R. Ray (*Maurya and Śuṅga Art*, Calcutta, 1965, p. 23), perhaps due to an oversight, describes the Sanchi pillar as also having carried a *dharmacakra*. But this would have no relevance at Sanchi.

19 N. R. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 117, Plate 40.

tsang speaks of having seen two pillars at Sārnāth *in situ* before two alleged Aśokan topes; but he does not refer to these being topped by any animal capital or surmounted by wheels. The epithet *Jina* would be quite natural and suitable when applied to the *dharmacakra* which, as a symbol of the Buddha, was an object of the highest veneration to the Buddhists. The meaning, 'the Victorious Wheel of the Doctrine', would fit into the context excellently.

In case such a conclusion is accepted, we shall have to assume that the knowledge of Aśoka and his times displayed by the Sārnāth inscription was not based entirely on legends. There is no doubt that such traditions were in wide circulation among the Buddhists about the time when the charter was drawn up. But we have to suppose further that some faint, but genuinely historical, memory of Aśoka and his monuments must have been alive in the Sārnāth region at least till the twelfth century. It is unfortunate that the copper-plate drawn up by Jambukī apparently containing her representations to Kumāradevī about the Dharmacakra-Jina, mentioned in verse 22 of the inscription, has not been recovered.[20] There may be some truth in Konow's suggestion that the copper-plate contained detailed information about the original Dharmacakra-Jina and it is not impossible that the said information was partly historical in character throwing light on its association with Aśoka. In this connection one is reminded of D. C. Sircar's suggestion, with regard to the reference to Candragupta and Aśoka in the Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Rudradāman, that apparently Rudradāman had access to some record containing an account of the origin of

20 Cf. *śrī-Dharmacakra-Jina-śāsana-sannibaddhaṁ sā Jambukī sakala-pattalik-āgrabhūtā | tat=tāmraśāsana-vara[ṁ] pravidhāya tasyai dattvā tayā śaśi-ravī bhuvi yāvad=āstām.* The engraving of the records is careless and the passages bristle with spelling mistakes.

the Sudarśana lake and its connection with the Maurya rulers.[21]

Once it is admitted that the Dharmacakra-Jina mentioned in our record can possibly be viewed as the detached and enshrined top of an Aśokan column consisting of an animal capital surmounted by a *dharmacakra*, a question is likely to be raised whether it is further possible to identify the *dharmacakra* specifically as coming from the top of any known Aśokan pillar. So far as our knowledge goes, the figure of *dharmacakra* formed the feature of an Aśokan capital only at Sārnāth.[22] Was it the same one which stood on the top of the existing Aśoka-pillar at Sārnāth and the remains of which are now lodged in the Sārnāth Museum? Or, did it come from the top of any other Aśokan pillar of the same place which may now have completely disappeared ?* Among the local antiquities now stored in the Sārnāth Museum, Sahni mentions a large stone-wheel resembling the one that had originally crowned the lion capital of the existing Aśoka-pillar.[23] This wheel may have formed part of another now-lost Aśokan column for all we know. Hiuen-tsang mentions having seen two pillars at Sārnāth situated before two topes supposed to have been built by Aśoka; but neither is described specifically as an Aśokan pillar by him.[24] Nor does he speak of these pillars as topped by any animal capitals or as surmounted by wheels.

---

21 *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I (1st ed.), p. 171, note 5.

22 See above, note 18.

*[See below the proceedings of Monthly Seminar, No. XXXII, held at the Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC on 17.7.69.—Ed.]

23 *Guide to the Buddhist Ruins of Sārnāth*, p. 26.

24 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 48, 50; Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, pp. 45-46. D. R. Sahni's statement (*Guide*, p. 26) that the Chinese pilgrims (*sic*) mention only one pillar of Aśoka at Sārnāth is misleading. Fa-hien and I-tsing do not refer to having seen any Aśokan column at Sārnāth.

From the general vagueness of the Chinese pilgrim's account, it is not possible to come to any definite conclusion with regard to the point whether he actually saw one Aśokan column or two, at Sārnāth. Assuming that the Chinese pilgrims mention only one Aśokan pillar at Sārnāth, Sahni suggests that the second wheel might have belonged to the Śuṅga period; but this argument has no force as his basic assumption rests on insufficient grounds. It is therefore difficult to be sure in the present state of our knowledge whether the second *dharmacakra*, the remains of which have been discovered at Sārnāth, formed part of any Aśokan pillar or not. In these circumstances, it is perhaps no use speculating if it is possible to identify the Dharmacakra-Jina mentioned in Kumāradevī's inscription with the famous Sārnāth lion-capital surmounted by the *dharmacakra* which originally topped the existing Aśokan pillar at Sārnāth.

In conclusion, it may be noted that the goddess Vasudhārā mentioned in verse 21 of the inscription, belongs to two distinct groups of the Buddhist Vajrayāna pantheon, viz. the Akṣobhya and Ratnasambhava groups. In the former, she appears as the *śakti* of the god Jambhala; in the latter, she plays a comparatively independent role though remaining subordinate to the Buddha Ratnasambhava. In both these forms, she appears as the goddess of plenty and abundance.[25] The Sārnāth inscription describes her as 'saviour' (*tāriṇī*), the actual expression being 'by Vasudhārā the saviour' (*tāriṇyā Vasudhārayā*). Sten Konow's translation 'by Vasudhārā in the shape of Tāriṇī' seems to miss the point by taking *tāriṇī* as a proper name. Konow seems to have regarded Tāriṇī as the name of an independent goddess and suggested her identification with Vasudhārā in his translation. Sm. Neogi also takes Tāriṇī

25 B. Bhattacharya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography* (Calcutta, 1958), pp. 202-03.

as a proper name, presumably of a goddess.[26] In the later Buddhist pantheon, Tāriṇī is another name of the well-known goddess Tārā, according to a *dhyāna* found in the *Pañcākāra* section of the *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*;[27] but she is hardly ever known to have been identified with Vasudhārā. There seems thus to be no justification for suggesting the identification in the present context, and it is safer to take *tāriṇī* as a simple adjective qualifying Vasudhārā. It is interesting that excavations at Sārnāth have yielded at least three fragmentary images of Vasudhārā.[28]

26 *Op. cit.*, p. 209.
27 B. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
28 Sahni, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

THE STATUS OF GOVINDAGUPTA

JAGANNATH AGRAWAL

The name of Govindagupta became known for the first time with the discovery and publication of the seal of Candragupta II's Chief Queen, Dhruvasvāminī.[1] While publishing the seal, Bloch expressed the opinion that Govindagupta was probably a younger son of Candragupta II. Bloch made this observation obviously because he took it for granted that Kumāragupta I was the eldest son and successor of his father, as indicated by the sequence of the inscriptions. D. R. Bhandarkar gave a careful thought to the wording of the Vaiśālī seal,[2] and made the following cogent remarks, "But let us proceed a step further and ask why, if Kumāragupta was also a son of Candragupta and Dhruvadevī, his name is omitted and that of Govindagupta alone mentioned. The name of the latter only is specified because I think he was the *Yuvarāja*. For in the seal of a queen, it is natural to expect the names of her husband the king and her son who is heir-apparent to the throne."[3] But this ingenious suggestion of Bhandarkar, did not receive much attention, obviously because no inscriptions of Govindagupta were known, which would furnish proof of his having occupied the Gupta throne for sometime. Moreover, as the interval between the last known date of Candragupta II, viz. year 93 as given in the Sanchi inscription, and the earliest known date of Kumāragupta, viz. year 96,[4] was only three years, it was presumed

1 *ASI, A.R.*, 1903-04, pp. 101 ff.

2 The text of the seal is as follows:—(1) *Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Candragupta-*(2) *patnī Mahārāja-śrī-Govindagupta-*(3) *mātā Mahādevī-śrī-Dhruvasvāminī.*

3 *Ind. Ant.*, 1912, p. 3.

4 See the Bilsad stone pillar inscription.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF ...
1 APR 1974
GOVT. OF MADRAS, MADRAS

that the latter must have been the immediate successor of the former.

In 1923, however, a stone inscription, dated Mālava Saṁvat 524, was discovered from Mandasor,[5] which gives some new facts about Candragupta II and Govindagupta. The inscription makes the following statements regarding Govindagupta :—

Govinda-vat-khyāta-guṇa-prabhāvo
Govindagupt-orjjita-namadheyam /
Vasundareśas = tanayaṃ prajajñe
sa Dity-Adityos = tanayais = sa-rūpam //
yasmin = nṛpair-astamita-pratāpaiś =
śirobhir = āliṅgita- pāda-padme /
vicāra-dolāṁ Vibudh = ādhipo = pi
śaṅkā-paritaḥ samupāruroha //

"That lord of the earth (Candragupta), whose virtues and prowess were famous like that of Kṛṣṇa, begat a son who resembled in form the progeny of Diti (mother of the demons) and Aditi (mother of the gods) [and] who bore the exalted appellation, Govindagupta. When he, whose lotus-like feet were embraced (i.e. touched), with their heads, by the kings whose glory had vanished, [was ruling], even the Lord of the gods overtaken by suspicion, mounted upon the swing of [conflicting] ideas."

From the statement made in the second verse, that the kings, whose glory had departed, embraced the lotus-like feet of Govindagupta with their heads, it may be reasonably inferred that he had under his suzerainty, a large number of feudatory kings.

Equally significant is the mention in this very inscription

5 The inscription has since been published in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 12-18.

of Vāyurakṣita as the Commander of the forces of Govindagupta,[6] for only an independent king can be supposed to have a standing army.* These two facts, combined with the inference drawn from the Basarh seal of Dhruvasvāminī that Govindagupta was the *Yuvarāja*, would go to establish that Govindagupta was not a younger prince, who did not ascend the throne. On the contrary, it indicates that Govindagupta was a great king. Of course, he ruled for a short time only, between the Gupta years 93 and 96.

We made this suggestion in our article published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXII, pp. 286-90. D.C. Sircar criticised our views in the same Journal, Vol. XXIV, pp. 72-75. We propose here to deal with the objections raised by Sircar. His first observation is that simply because a number of kings paid homage to Govindagupta, he cannot be regarded as an imperial ruler, as even subordinate chiefs are known to have enjoyed the allegiance of smaller feudatories ; and he quotes the instance of *Mahāsāmata Mahārāja* Varuṇasena of the Nirmand plate.[7] But it is not at all a parallel case, for here the *Sāmantas* or smaller feudatories are said to have paid homage to a higher dignitary who was a *Mahāsāmanta* and a *Mahārāja*. It is not stated here that the *Mahāsāmantas* or *Mahārājas* paid homage to Varuṇasena, a ruler having the subordinate title of *Mahārāja*. Sircar next quotes the instances of Meghanāda and Raghu who defeated Indra 'without being kings themselves'. Here again he misses the real point. Both Meghanāda and Raghu

---

6 Cf. *Senāpatis=tasya babhūva nāmnā Vāyv-ādinā rakṣita-paścimena.*

* [According to the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Agnimitra, Puṣyamitra's viceroy at Vidiśā, had his own *amātya* (minister) and *daṇḍacakra* (fighting force) under commanders one of whom he appointed as governor of a border-fort (*antaḥpāla-durga*).—Ed.]

7 Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 286 ff.

fought on behalf of their sires, and not on their own. Raghu was deputed by Dilīpa to guard the sacrificial horse and so was Meghanāda deputed by Rāvaṇa to humiliate Indra. We fail to understand how these instances have any bearing on the present case.*

Sircar further avers that Viśvavarman king of Daśapura, whom he takes to be a subordinate ruler, is described in his Gangdhar inscription as having conquered Indra. But how does he conclude that Viśvavarman was a subordinate ruler in 423 A.D. when the Gangdhar inscription was put up? There is no mention of any paramount sovereign in this record. When compared with the Mandasor inscription of the guild of silk-weavers, the Gangdhar inscription points to the independent status of the Aulikaras in 423 A.D. The earliest known reference to the sovereignty of the Guptas over Daśapura belongs to the time of Bandhuvarman who was ruling in the Mālava year 493=436 A.D., when Kumāragupta was ruling over the earth.[8]

Similarly, the reference to the Pallava grants have no bearing on the present problem. We have never said that the heirs-apparent did not issue orders. Quite contrary to it, we concede that some of the Gupta princes were appointed as provincial governors and Govindagupta too seems to have acted as such either at Vaiśālī or elsewhere. But that is besides the point. The crux of the problem lies in deciding whether the reference in the Mandasor inscription of the Mālava year 524 as embodied in

* [Having feudatories and being feared by Indra do not seem to require one to be an imperial or independent ruler.—Ed.]

8 Cf. *Kumāragupte pṛthivīṃ praśāsati*. [With the extirpation of the Western Satraps and the expansion of Candragupta's power over Western India, the Aulikaras of Daśapura apparently submitted to the Gupta emperor. Viśvavarman's father Naravarman is described as the follower of Siṁhavikrānta (Candragupta II). See *Sel. Ins.*, 1965, p. 398, note 1.—Ed.]

the verse *tasmin = nṛpair*^{o}, etc., is to the time when Govindagupta was an emperor or to the period of his governorship.

Sircar holds that the Vākāṭaka kings, 'appointed *Senāpatis* in the capacity of Viceroys over territories including *rājyas* and *rājās* (cf. the Chammak plates of Pravarasena II referring to the Bhojakaṭa-rājya forming a part of the Vākāṭaka dominions), and the vassal chief Śatrughnarāja and his son Koṇḍarāja (apparently rulers of the Bhojakaṭa-rājya) and to the *Senāpati* Citravarman.' A close examination of the Chammak and other Vākāṭaka grants will reveal that there is no force in Sircar's reasoning. There is not the slightest indication in the Chammak grant to show either that Koṇḍarāja, at whose instance the grant was made, was a feudatory ruler, or that Bhojakaṭa was a feudatory state, or that Citravarman was the viceroy of Bhojakaṭa. The absence of any royal title like *Mahārāja*, before the names of Śatrughnarāja and Koṇḍarāja, in this prose passsage not involving any exigencies of metre, goes against the presumption that they were rulers. Moreover, the omission even of the customary honorific *śrī* before their names, shows that they were ordinary persons.* The fact that they have requested the king to make the grant does not prove their royal status, for it is well known that grants were made even at the instance of common people. The villages granted by means of the Chammak charter are described as lying in the conquered (i.e. crown) territory—*vaijayike sthāne.* If we compare this expression with the *vijita* of Aśokan inscriptions, it would be clear that the territory was a crown-province and not a feudatory state.**

---

* [It is difficult to agree with these views. Cf. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 177.—Ed.]

** [In the Chammak plates (line 23), *vaijayika* (conferring or foretelling victory) is associated with *dharmasthāna*, 'a holy place', where the grant in question was made by the king.—Ed.]

The use of the term *rājya* with Bhojakaṭa does not prove that it was a feudatory state. In the Vākāṭaka grants, the term *rājya* is used for a province or division of modern times. For example, in the Dudia plates of Pravarasena II, there is mention of the Ārammi-rājya, which was administered by the king's own officers; cf. *śrī-Pravarasena-vacanāt Ārammi-rājye asmat-santakā sarv-ādhyakṣa-niyoga-niyuktāḥ*. Here it is specifically stated that the order is addressed to the officers of the crown appointed by the order of the king's Controller General.*

The suggestion that the feudatory kings Śatrughnarāja and Koṇḍarāja were under the *Senāpati* Citravarman, who acted as a sort of Viceroy, is utterly opposed to the true import of this statement. The locative in the expression *senāpatau Citravarmaṇi*, is a locative absolute, and it simply means that the charter was drafted and issued under the supervision of the *Senāpati* who, in the Vākāṭaka charters, functions in place of the *Sandhivigrahika* mentioned in the law books and in the grants of other dynasties. In the Seoni plates of Pravarasena II, we have the expression: *senāpatau Bappadeve, likhitaṃ Ācāryeṇa*[9] (written by Ācārya when Bappadeva is the *Senāpati*). As these charters have been issued from Pravarapura, the Vākāṭaka capital, the inference is obvious that it was an officer of the Vākāṭaka court, who supervised its writing. The Seoni grant was made in the Division called Bennākorpara-bhāga—a purely Vākāṭaka territory. No feudatory chief ruled over it. Here Bappasvāmin was discharging the functions ordinarily associated with the *Sandhivigrahika*. He was not acting as a Viceroy over some feudatory.

To conclude, since Daśapura was ruled over by the feudatory dynasty of the Aulikaras, there was no room for

* [The interpretation seems to be doubtful.—Ed.]

9 Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

the appointment of an imperial representative of the Guptas at Daśapura. If the Mandasor inscription of the Mālava Saṁvat 524 indicates anything, it is that Govindagupta succeeded his father Candragupta II, as an imperial ruler, to whom a large number of feudatory kings owed allegiance, and the son of whose commander-in-chief erected a Stūpa at Daśapura.*

* [Govindagupta seems to have been the viceroy of Western India in which there were many states like that of the Aulikaras. The traditional association of Ujjayinī with Vikramāditya (Candragupta II) may suggest that, after the extirpation of the Śakas who had their capital at that city, Govindagupta was stationed there as his father's viceroy of the western province. Likewise, the Vākāṭaka *Senāpatis* seem to have been viceroys over provinces containing territories including a few *rājyas* under *Rājans*. They were in charge of the areas in which the gift lands were situated. Some of our views expressed in *IHQ* appear to have been misunderstood. Even if Govindagupta was the *Yuvarāja*, he may have predeceased his father.—Ed.]

COSMOGONY IN PALI LITERATURE

JNANRANJAN HALDAR

The Pali Buddhist literature does not speak of any Creator-God. It gives more emphasis upon the attainment of *nibbāna* than the knowledge of the origin of the universe, and according to the Buddha, the question on speculation about the world (*loka-cintā*)[1] is unprofitable[2] because it is not conducive to reaching the state of *nibbāna*.[3] Though in the Pali works, one does not generally meet with the creation-theory, it mentions the never-ending cycles of destruction and renovation of the universe, which are caused by the endless cycles of fixed causes.[4] A. L. Basham[5] states that this conception is borrowed from 'the Hindu doctrine of cosmic decline'. W. M. McGovern[6] points out that the 'doctrine of the never-ending cycle of creation and destruction' is pre-Buddhistic as it 'was only evolved by the Aryan mind after the period of the Vedas'. The post-Vedic Hindu mythology, particularly the epico-Purāṇic mythology,[7] however, speaks not only of the endless cycles

1 'Who made the moon and sun, who made the earth, the ocean, the beings, mountains, mangoes, coconuts, etc.?' (*Kindred Sayings*, PTS, Vol. V, p. 377, note 2).

2 *Saṃyuttanikāya*, PTS, Vol. V, p. 447.

3 *Nibbāna*=cessation of existence. It is all bliss. There is no intermingling of pain in it (*Milindapañha*, PTS, Part II, pp. 313ff.; *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 182-85).

4 *Visuddhimagga*, PTS, Vol. II, pp. 414-22; *Dīghanikāya*, PTS, Vol. III, pp. 28f., 84-95.

5 *Prācyavidyā-taraṅgiṇī* (Golden Jubilee Volume of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta), pp. 59f.

6 *A Manual of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 9.

7 E. Washburn Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, pp. 189, 194, 196.

of creation (day) and destruction (sleep) of the god Brahman, but also of Brahman Himself as the creator of the universe. The Brāmaṇical claim for the supremacy of Brahman as creator has been refuted in the *Dīgha*[8] and *Majjhima*[9] *Nikāyas*. Thus it is found that the Hindu conception of the never-ending cycles of creation and destruction is placed differently in Pali literature which says[10] that the regions from Vehapphala to the Arūpa-Brahmaloka[11] are not subject to destruction. This suggests that there is no origin or end of the world.[12] It ever was, and will be for ever.[13]

However, when the world-system, a long time after its destruction[14] by fire, begins to re-evolve[15] with the power of the united merit of all orders of beings in existence,[16] a great rain-cloud appears and fills up all the burnt places of the hundred thousand myriad world-systems. Then wind rises from below and across the water, and holds it in a mass, rounding it like a water-drop on a lotus-leaf. The water, being collected together, held in a mass by

---

8 Vol. I, pp. 17-18; Vol. III, pp. 28-30.

9 Vol. I, pp. 326-21.

10 *Visuddhimagga*, PTS, Vol. II, pp. 414-22.

11 The universe consists of innumerable *cakkavāḷas*, i.e. world-systems or spheres (*anantāni cakkavāḷāni, anantā lokadhātuyo;* cf. *Visuddhimagga*, Vol. I, p. 207; *Samantapāsādikā*, PTS, Vol. I, p. 120; *Suttanipāta Commentary*, PTS, Vol. II, p. 433) and in each *cakkavāḷa*, there are 31 abodes of living beings which are divided into three groups —(1) *Kāmaloka* (purgatory, animal kingdom, Peta world, Asura world, human world and the six *devalokas*), (2) *Rūpaloka* (16 abodes of Rūpa-Brahman), and (3) *Arūpaloka* (4 abodes of Arūpa-Brahman). Vehapphala is the 10th *Rūpabrahmaloka*.

12 The beginning of *saṁsāra* (world) is incalculable (*Kindred Sayings*, Vol. II, p. 118).

13 Cf. R. Spence Hardy, *A Manual of Buddhism*, 1860, p. 5.

14 The universe is destroyed by fire, water and wind (*Visuddhimagga*, Vol. II, pp. 414-17, 420-21).

15 *Ibid.*, p. 417-20. Cf. *Dīghanikāya*, Vol. III, pp. 28., 24-29.

16 Hardy, *op. cit.*, pp. 34f.

the wind, in receding, begins to descend. When the water gradually descends, the lower Brahma-worlds and Deva-worlds are formed in the place of those destroyed. In descending to the former site of the earth, the water is caught by strong winds, like water kept in a water-bag whose mouth is closed. The sweet water in receding gives rise to a tasty earth above, which looks like a film on undiluted rice-porridge being endowed with colour, odour and taste. Then beings who were born in the Ābhassara Brahma-world, during destruction, pass away thence, either on account of the inferiority of their merit, or because their period of residence in that *loka* is complete, and appear on the earth.[17] As these beings are self-illuminated, they can traverse the firmament. But their self-illumination disappears when they lick the tasty earth and, overcome by craving, try to eat in mouthfuls. As a result, they fall in darkness and become frightened. But they become glad and delighted when the sun appears. As the sun (50 *yojanas* in size), after shining during day, sets, the moon (49 *yojanas* in size) appears for removing the darkness at night. After the appearance of the sun and the moon, the stars and constellations come into sight. From that time, day and night appear, and gradually the month, the half-month, the seasons, and the year also appear. On the full-moon day of the month of Phagguna, Sineru, the world-system, and the Himālaya mountain appear simultaneously. When millet is cooked, a number of bubbles are formed upon the surface of the water, and there are some parts of that surface which are elevated, low and level; in a like manner, at the formation of the world-system, the elevated places are mountains, the low places are oceans, and the level places are islands.

17 Cf. *Dighanikāya*, Vol. III, p. 30.

Those who have eaten the tasty earth are beautiful; they despise the ugly ones who have not eaten the tasty earth. Due to this, the tasty earth disappears, and an earthly outgrowth appears. For the same reason, that also disappears, and a creeper called *bodālatā* appears. Because of the same reason, that also disappears. Then there appears paddy not cooked with the aid of fuel (*akaṭṭhapāko sāli pātubhavati*), free from the coating of red powder, yielding huskless, pure, sweet-smelling rice. Then vessels appear and when the people place the paddy in the vessels on rocks, a flame of fire rising of its own accord cooks it. When they eat that food, they develop urine and excrement. In order to let them go out, holes like the mouths of wounds open up in their bodies. Then masculinity and femininity appear. And in the female appear the distinctive features of the female, and in the male those of the male. Now man and woman begin to gaze at each other, and lust arises. Following their sensual instincts they practise evil and, to conceal their sin, they make houses wherein they dwell. At one stage of the process, following the practice of an unknown lazy man, they hoard up their grains. Then setting up of boundaries, acquisition of private property, crime and immorality, law and state appear. The people choose a man from among themselves for becoming their king who would maintain law and order in the state. For his expenses, the king is given a share of grains and he becomes *khettānaṃ pati* (lord of the fields) and is called Khattiya. Thus the class of Khattiya arises and in due course the other castes, viz. Brāhmaṇa, Vessa and Sudda are also formed.

When the world is renovated after its destruction by fire, water and wind, the method of evolution is the same in each case only with this little difference: when the world appears after its destruction by fire, the beings from the Ābhassara Brahma-world pass away and are reborn in the lower Brahma-lokas and other places; when the world

appears after its destruction by water, it begins with the Ābhassara Brahma-world and the beings come from the Subhakiṇha abode to be reborn in the said Brahma-world and other places; when the world is renovated after its destruction by wind, it begins with the Subhakiṇha Brahma-world, and the beings passing away from the Vehapphala abode are reborn in Subhakiṇha and other places.

MATHURĀ PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE GUPTA YEAR 61

P. R. SRINIVASAN

This inscription was edited by D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, pp. 1 ff., with a facsimile which is, however, not very clear. In view of the fact that it contains the year 61 in a passage giving the details of date in lines 4-5, it has been rightly held to be a very important record of the Gupta dynasty. There are also other points of interest in this epigraph. Some scholars have suggested the restoration of a few lost letters, after the expression *saṁvatsa[re]* in line 3, so as to read either *prathame Gupta*[1] or *[paṁ]cam[e*]* [5],[2] thus investing the epigraph with greater importance.[3]

A close examination of the facsimile of the record accompanying Bhandarkar's article will show that neither of these restorations is possible in the place. As has been stated by Bhandarkar, the engraving is irregular and words and letters are often widely separated from each other. In the place in question in line 3 after *saṁvatsa*, only four *akṣaras* could possibly be accommodated. Of the four, *re* is certain because it completes the word *saṁvatsare*. After *re*, there is space only for three *akṣaras* at the most, although Bhandarkar has given four dots after *[re]* and has suggested, besides, *[Gupta]* after the fourth dot.[4] Of

1 D. B. Diskalkar in *ABORI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 170.

2 D. C. Sircar in *IHQ*, Vol. XVIII, p. 272; and repeated in *Select Inscriptions* (see 2nd ed., 1965, p. 277).

3 *The Classical Age*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 18.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 8, text line 3. [The arguments regarding the accommodation of *akṣaras* in the available space appear to be problematical. —Ed.]

the three *akṣaras* required in this place, the first one is totally lost ; but traces of the second and third letters appear to exist. The second *akṣara* looks like *ptā* while the remnants of the third suggest that it was in all likelihood *nāṁ*. These two *akṣaras* together then read *ptānāṁ*. This will immediately suggest the totally lost first *akṣara* to be *Gu*, so that the word is *Guptānāṁ*, and the passage in line 3 of the record will read as °*sya vija[ya*]-rājya-saṁvatsa[re Guptānāṁ] kāl-ānuvarttamāna-saṁ*°.[5]

This restoration of the lost *akṣaras* seems to be quite in accord with the practice of drafting of the Gupta royal records none of which, known so far, has quoted the regnal year of the ruling king. This is particularly noticeable in the inscriptions of Candragupta II, like the Udayagiri cave inscription, year 82,[6] and the Sanchi stone inscription, year 93,[7] where the year of the era is alone given. In these two instances, however, the details of date are given in a much simple way ; e.g., Udayagiri—*saṁvatsare 80 2 Āṣāḍha-māsa-śukle(l-ai)kādaśyām* ;[8] and Sanchi — *saṁ 90 3 Bhādrapada di 4.*[9] It may be said that this manner of quoting the particulars of the date was due to the fact that these records were issued by the subordinates of the king and not by the king himself. If this is so, the Mathurā

5 [An obvious drawback of this conjectural reading is the use of the word *saṁvatsare* twice before the number 61, the possibility being that there was a number after *vijayarājya-saṁvatsare* just as there is one after *kāl-ānuvarttamāna-saṁvatsare.* The Mathurā inscription referred to below shows that no dynastic name (as in *Guptānāṁ*) was expected before *kāl-ānuvarttamāna-saṁvatsare.* It must be noticed that the Mathurā inscription of Candragupta II is the earliest record dated in the Gupta era and that its dating has peculiarities not noticed in the later records of the Guptas.—Ed.]

6 *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 21 ff.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 29 ff.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 25.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 32.

inscription under review is also of the same category. In the records of the successors of Candragupta II, the practice of giving the details is as follows: *śrī-Kumāragupta-rājya-[saṁvatsare]* in the Gadhwa stone inscription[10] where the date is lost, *[Kumāragupta-rājya-saṁvatsa]re 90 8* in the other record[11] from the same place where, however, the phrase has to be restored, and *Kumāraguptasy = ābhivarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare shaṇ-navate* in the Bilsad stone-pillar inscription.[12] It is noteworthy that the expression *vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare* is common to the Bilsad inscription and the record under study.

So far no Gupta record, bearing an earlier date than 61 which is the date of the record under study, has been discovered and it is in this record that the significant phrase *Guptānāṁ kāl-ānuvarttamāna-saṁvatsare* is found. In a record[13] from Mathurā belonging to a period earlier than that of the Guptas the details of the date are given as *kāl-ānuvarttamāna-saṁvatsare 70 Bhādravada-divase saptāviṁśe 20 7*. The first part of this passage is identical with the wording in our record with the difference that in the latter the word *Guptānāṁ* precedes this phrase. The reason for the absence of a word similar in import to the word *Guptānām* in the earlier Mathurā record is not known. It may have been due to the fact that the date of the record was in an era already well known to the people and that therefore there was no necessity to qualify the phrase. In the present case, however, the qualifying word *Guptānām* seems to have been put there with a definite purpose. It is possible that, upto the time of this record, the people of the North were familiar with the dates reckoned in an era different from

10 *Ibid.*, p. 40.
11 *Ibid.*, p. 41.
12 *Ibid.*, p. 43.
13 Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions* (ed. Janert), p. 113.

those in the Gupta era. In order to remove any confusion that was likely to have been caused by continuing to describe the date simply as *kāl-ānuvarttamāna-saṁvatsara*, the persons entrusted with the work of drafting the record under study had necessarily to distinguish the date of the record as one of the Gupta-saṁvatsara. There was perhaps also another reason for this distinction. It was at Mathurā that the use of the earlier era was in vogue. So, if the inscription under study, which was put up in the very same place, also contained the same phrase describing the date in the same manner as the records dated in the earlier era, the confusion would have been great. The phrase *Guptānāṁ kāl-ānuvarttamāna-saṁvatsare* may have been used here to counteract this confusion also. It may be said that, if this were so, why this phrase is not found used in the Gupta records bearing dates later than the year 61. The Gupta record belonging to a period subsequent to the present record, which is dated in the year 61, is the Udayagiri cave inscription which is dated in the year 82, and which is of the same king, Candragupta II. This record, as has been stated already, does not make use of the phrase mentioned above. The omission of this phrase here as well as in all the subsequent records, seems to have been due to the fact that by the time of the Udayagiri inscription which is dated 21 years later than the Mathurā record under study, the Gupta era was evidently well established in the extensive kingdom of the Guptas and was popular with the people, and hence the necessity to repeat the old phraseology was absent and the practice was, therefore, abandoned.[14] The correction of the reading in line 3

14 [The descendants of Candragupta I only began to assume *gupta*-ending names after that monarch, so that the name 'Gupta dynasty' began to be popular at a later date (from the time of Candragupta II). See Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, pp. 423-24. Moreover, the era is called *Gupta-prakāla* in the Junagarh inscription of Skandagupta, dated 457-458 A.D. See Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 312, verse 12.—Ed.]

offered above would leave the matter relating to the date of accession of Candragupta II, as it was before the restoration of the date was suggested.

The teacher Upamita and his teacher Kapila, were evidently dead at the time when the record was put up because the inscription states that two *liṅgas*, one in the name of Upamita and another in the name of Kapila, were established, in commemoration of these teachers (*gurūṇāṁ ca kīrty-artham*, line 9), and for the religious merit of Udit-ācārya's self (*sva-puṇy-āpyāyana-nimittaṁ*, line 8). Udit-ācārya is given the epithet *ārya* which is explained by Bhandarkar as denoting ownership, here the ownership of the *gurv-āyatana*. In support of this, he cites verse 34 in the Cintra *praśasti*,[15] where the second half of the verse reads *Āryam=enaṁ vinirmāya ṣaṣṭhaṁ cakre mahattaram*. This passage has been translated as, "having made him an *Ārya*, appointed him the sixth Mahattara". The Cintra *praśasti* too appears to belong to the same or almost the same sect of Śaivism as that to which the Mathurā record belongs and that, therefore, the technical terms occurring in both may have the same or similar connotation. According to the *praśasti*, the teacher named Tripurāntaka was made an *Ārya* first and was then made the sixth *Mahattara*. Here the word *Ārya* seems to have been used in a technical sense. It seems to mean not that an un-*Ārya* was made into an *Ārya*, but that a lay member or preacher of the sect was initiated into teacherhood, as is common even today in several religious orders. Only after this initiation, he seems to have been qualified to be made the *Mahattara* which term in the context of the *praśasti* appears to denote only a pontiff or priest. On this analogy, the word *Ārya* qualifying Udit-ācārya in the record under study may have to be taken as meaning that the said *ācārya*

15 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 275, 283.

was already a qualified person to officiate as priest in a temple like the *gurv-āyatana*. If this is so, then Bhandarkar's interpretation that *Ārya* means an 'owner' and Sircar's suggestion[16] that this is the epithet of a living ascetic of the sect, have to be modified.

In line 10 of the record the text is as follows : *gurvv-āyatane guru........pratiṣṭhāpito(tau) n=ai°*. Here, after the word *guru* in the middle, there is space only for three *akṣaras* and Bhandarkar has actually put only three dots there[17] although he mentions earlier that there were at least five letters here.[18] Accordingly, in a foot-note,[19] he suggests that the lost *akṣaras* may be restored as *pratimā-yutau*, a word with five *akṣaras*. After suggesting this impossible restoration he has given the translation of the passage as, '[comprising the portraits of] the teachers were installed in the Teachers' shrine', and has argued at length to show that the two *liṅgas* set up by Udit-ācārya bore portraits of the two teachers Upamita and Kapila.[20] Sircar goes a step further and says that the *liṅgas* were so shaped as to have the representations of the teachers on their shafts, which looked as though they bear the *liṅga* on their head.[21] Sircar's argument is, on the face of it, fanciful, while Bhandarkar's restoration suffers from the want of accommodation for two more *akṣaras* in the space which could accommodate not more than three letters only. Moreover, he has not cited a single example of a sculpture of this type although he refers to the *devakula* mentioned in the *Pratimā-nāṭaka* and to the occurrence of the word *devakula* in the Kuṣāṇa records.[22] Even today the

---

16 *Select Inscriptions, op. cit.*, p. 278, note 3.
17 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 9.
18 *Ibid.*, p. 5.
19 *Ibid.*, p. 9, note 1.
20 *Ibid.*, p. 5.
21 *IHQ*, Vol. XVIII, p. 275.
22 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 4-5.

practice of installing a Śiva-liṅga on the grave of a dead ascetic is widely in vogue, and these memorial *liṅgas* do not have portraits of the ascetics carved on them. If this modern practice can be taken as indicative of the perpetuation of an ancient custom, the same practice is referred to in the present record. So, in the space after *guru* in line 10, some such word as *samādhau*, having the required number of letters, may be presumed to have been engraved. With this restoration, the meaning of the passage would be—'in the Teachers' shrine, on the graves of the teachers, the two were installed'.

The passage in lines 11 to 14 has been interpreted by Bhandarkar in one way[23] and 'quite differently' by Sircar.[24] A further examination, however, shows that both these scholars are only partly correct, while the correct interpretation of the passage will be as follows: "this is not written for [my] glory. The worshippers of Maheśvara are requested and are addressed: 'Knowing that [this shrine] [has become the property of or has been dedicated to] the teachers, [Māheśvaras] should in the course of [their] time (*yathā kālēna*)[25] without hesitation offer worship to and honour [the *liṅgas* at the shrine] as well as protect the property, in proper times.' This is the request."

The passage *yaś=ca kirty-abhidrohaṁ kuryyād=yaś=c=ābhi-likhitam=uparyy=adho vā* (line 15-16) has been translated by Bhandarkar as "whosoever will do harm to these materials or [destroy] the writing above or below",[26] after

23 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

24 *IHQ*, Vol. XVIII, p. 274.

25 Both Bhandarkar and Sircar have taken these words as constituting a single word *yathā-kālena;* but in compound form only *yathā-kālaṁ* is permissible. [The language of the record is influenced by Prakrit and *yathā-kālena* would mean 'in proper time' according to Prakrit grammar. See Sircar, *A Grammar of the Prakrit Language*, p. 62.—Ed.]

26 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 9.

suggesting a word like *ucchindyāt* after *vā* given above. The following interpretation would, however, seem more proper: "whosoever will do harm to this shrine (*kīrtti*) and whosoever transgresses or condemns this edict (*abhilikhitam = uparyy = adho vā [kuryāt]*."

Finally, the passagge in the last line of the record transcribed by Bhandarkar as: *jayati bhagavā[ṇ = Daṇḍaḥ]* (*Daṇḍaḥ*) *rudra-daṇḍo = gra-nāyako nitya[ṁ]*, and translated by him as, "And may the divine Daṇḍa be always victorious, whose staff is terrific and who is the foremost leader," requires significant modification. In the passage quoted above, the word *rudradaṇḍa* is to be taken as *Rudra-daṇḍa* (the staff of Rudra) and it is this Rudra-daṇḍa, in its personified aspect, that is addressed as *Bhagavān* Daṇḍaḥ who is described as *agra-nāyakaḥ*. The translation of the passage would then be: "the divine Daṇḍa, i.e., the staff of Rudra (*Rudra-daṇḍa*), who is the foremost leader [of the Śaivas], is always victorious." Obviously the staff here referred to means the *triśūla* (trident) of the god Rudra or Śiva, and interestingly the reference appears to be to the representation of the *triśūla* on the pillar on which the inscription is engraved. This pillar has been elaborately described by Bhandarkar[27] who is inclined to call it a pilaster, with the sculpture of a trident carved on the fine dressed surface at the top. In fact, the top portion of the pillar is apparently designed to be the top of the Rudra-daṇḍa, showing the three prongs of the trident referred to in the inscription, while the octagonal section below the top part represents the shaft for holding the three-pronged part. This can be easily seen from its illustration on Plate CXX(e) in *ASI*, A.R., for 1930-34, Pt. II. The standing figure at the

27 *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

bottom portion of this Rudra-daṇḍa has been identified by Bhandarkar as Lakulīśa, and as one 'which cannot belong to the fourth century A.D.' Moreover, according to him, the interest of this figure also lies in the fact that it is in standing posture while the known figures of Lakulīśa all belonging to the medieval period are in a sitting posture; and besides, while the latter figures are shown with their *membrum virile* upraised, the figure under reference does not show this feature, because this feature cannot be represented in a standing figure. As regards the last mentioned point, it may be said that there are numerous standing figures of male deities of Śaivism from North India, showing the *membrum virile* upraised; as for instance, the broken Mahāvināyaka (6th-7th century A.D.) from Kabul illustrated on Plate facing p. 46 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, as well as the figure of Śiva of the Śiva-Pārvatī panel from Kosam in *The Classical Age*, Plate XXIII, Fig 53. As regards the identification of the figure, it does not seem to represent Lakulīśa; but on the other hand, it may be a representation of the Rudradaṇḍa-puruṣa, similar to the representation of Āyudha-Puruṣas like Cakra-puruṣa, very common in the Gupta period. This representation of the Rudra-daṇḍa appears to have been intended to be set up in front of the 'Teachers' shrine' just as the Besnagar Garuḍa-stambha was meant for a Viṣṇu shrine. It is interesting to note that this stone *triśūla* is referred to in the record as Daṇḍa. Similar *triśūlas*, but made of metal and with inscriptions engraved on them, are known from several ancient Śiva shrines of North India, e.g., one[28] from the Gopeśvara temple at Gopeśvar, Chamoli Taluk, Chamoli District, Uttar Pradesh, and another[29] from the Viśvanātha

28 *A.R.Ep.*, 1967-68, No. B 285.
29 *Ibid.*, 1968-69, No. 323.

temple at Uttarakāśī in the District of the same name in U.P., both of which are dated to about the 7th century A.D. This shows that the Rudra-daṇḍa under reference may be one of the earliest of its kind. In the inscription on the trident from Gopeśvar, it is called *Triśūla*, whereas in the record on the trident from Uttarakāśī, it appears to be referred to as *Śakti*. This shows that Śiva's *triśūla* was variously called *Rudra-daṇḍa*, *Śakti* and *Triśūla*.

THE MERU

CHUNILAL CHAKRAVARTY

The Meru occupies an important place in the mountain system of Jambu-dvīpa described by the ancient geographers. The name Mahāmeru appears in later Vedic literature;[1] in the Buddhist works, the range is called Hemameru, Mahāmeru and Sineru which is supposed to have stood at the centre of the world being encircled by seven *kulācalas* or concentric circles of rocks.[2] The *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to the golden Sudarśana mountain which is another name of the Meru.[3] According to the epico-Purāṇic accounts, around the Meru standing at the middle of Jambu-dvīpa, lies the elevated Ilāvṛta-varṣa.[4] The height of the Meru is 84 thousand *yojanas* and its depth below the surface of the earth and its base are both 16 thousand *yojanas* so that this mountain is the seed-cup of the lotus of the earth.[5] To the north of Mt. Meru is the Nīla-parvata associated with the Ramyaka-varṣa (also called Ramaṇaka-varṣa and Nīla-varṣa);[6] north of it is the Śveta[6] or Śukla-parvata associated with the Hiraṇmaya[6] or Śveta-varṣa;[7] and to the north of the Hiraṇmaya-varṣa is the Śṛṅgin or Śṛṅgavat-

1 *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 170.

2 Malalasekera, *DPPN*, s.v. *Sineru*.

3 Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa, 43.16; cf. Sircar, *Cosmography and Geography*, p. 63.

4 *Brahmāṇḍa*, 35.22.

5 Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, p. 135. According to the Buddhist writers, Mt. Sineru is submerged in the sea at the centre of the world to a depth of 84,000 *yojanas* and rises above also to the same height. Cf. Malalasekera, *loc. cit*.

6 *Matsya*, 113.61; *Brahmāṇḍa*, 34.46; *Mahābhārata*, VI. 8.2.

7 *Agni*, 107.7. The *Mahābhārata* (VI. 8) associates the Śveta with the Ramaṇaka-varṣa.

parvata associated with Uttara-Kuru (or Airāvata according to the *Mahābhārata*), the northernmost *varṣa*.[8] To the south of the Meru is the Niṣadha-parvata associated with the Hari-varṣa ; to the south of the Hari-varṣa is the Hemakūṭa-parvata associated with the Kimpuruṣa-varṣa ; to the south of the Kimpuruṣa-varṣa is the Himavat-parvata associated with Bhārata, also called Himāhvaya or Haimavata, the southernmost *varṣa*.[9] To the east of the Meru° or Ilāvṛta-varṣa lies the Gandhamādana and to the west the Mālyavat. These two mountains connect the *varṣa-parvatas*, Nīla and Niṣadha, separating Bhadrāśva and Ketumāla respectively from the Meru° or Ilāvṛta-varṣa in the east and west.[10] On the top of the Meru lives the god Brahman, while its other sections are occupied by the other gods.[11]

The Meru has four *viṣkambhas*, or supporting ranges, on its four sides, viz. (i) Mandara in the east, associated with Bhadrāśva ; (ii) Gandhamādana[12] in the south, associated

---

8 *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 54.9; *Mahābhārata*, VI. 6.4ff.; *Agni*, 108.26. According to the Four-Continent theory of the earth, to the north and south of Mt. Meru lie the continents of Uttara-Kuru and Bhārata respectively; to its east and west are placed Bhadrāśva and Ketumāla (*Vāyu*, 34.37ff.; cf. *Mahābhārata*, VI. 6.12-13; Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 49ff., note 23). This theory resembles that of the Buddhists in which Uttara-Kuru is located to the north of the Sineru (Meru or Sumeru) and Jambu-dvīpa to the south of it. The western continent is Apara-Godāna and the eastern Pūrva-Videha (Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 491). These theories, therefore, clearly indicate that Uttara-Kuru lies close to the Meru in the north. The *Mahābhārata* places Uttara-Kuru to the south of the Nīla and on the border of the Meru. In another section of the same work, Uttara-Kuru is placed near Mt. Meru associated with the sandy deserts beyond the Himalaya (VI. 7.2; cf. XVIII. 2.12).

9 *Agni*, 107.5; *Brahmāṇḍa* 35.30.

10 Cf. Raychaudhuri, *Stud. Ind. Ant.*, p. 72.

11 *Vāyu*, Ch. 34.

12 It has also been placed to the east of the Meru-varṣa and is associated with Bhadrāśva. In some of the Purāṇas, the names of the supporting ranges appear as Mandara, Meru-Mandara, Supārśva and Kumuda. Cf. Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, p. 136n.

with Jambu-dvīpa ; (iii) Vipula in the west, associated with Ketumāla ; and (iv) Supārśva in the north, associated with Uttara-Kuru.[13] There are four *vanas* (forests) connected with the four *viṣkambhas* : (i) Caitraratha in the east ; (ii) Nandana in the south ; (iii) Vaibhrāja in the west ; and (iv) Sāvitra in the north. They have respectively the following four lakes : (i) Aruṇoda (east) ; (ii) Mānasa (south) ; (iii) Sitoda or Śītoda (west) ; and (iv) Mahābhadra (north). There are also a large number of mountain ranges, called 'filament mountains' by Wilson, running in the four directions from the above-mentioned lakes.[14]

Besides, there are ranges called *maryādā-parvatas* or boundary ranges numbering eight. They are Jaṭhara and Devakūṭa in the east extending from Mt. Nīla to Mt. Niṣadha and separating Bhadrāśva from Ilāvṛta ; the Niṣadha and Pāripātra in the west, extending from Mt. Nīla to the Niṣadha and separating Ketumāla from Ilāvṛta ; the Kailāsa and Himavat in the south and the Śṛṅgavat and Jārudhi in the north, both groups extending from sea to sea.[15] Elsewhere the Mālyavat and Gandhamādana, respectively to the west and east of the Meru region, separating it from Ketumāla and Bhadrāśva, are mentioned as ranges extending from Mt. Nīla to Mt. Niṣadha.[16]

From the above description it becomes clear that the Meru-parvata is the nucleus of the Purāṇic conception of the mountain system, and the position of all the other ranges depends on the exact location of this mountain. Although scholars have attempted to locate the Meru, their findings are not free from doubt. B.N. Seal compares Mt. Meru with

---

13 *Vāyu*, Ch. 35.
14 See *ibid.*, Ch. 36.
15 *Mārkaṇḍeya*, Ch. 54.
16 *Bhāgavata*, V, 16.10.

the Pamirknot.[17] This view is supported by Pandya who maintains that, since the Pamirknot is "the hub of all great mountain ranges of Asia", it must be the Meru.[18] Basing his ideas on a similar line of thinking, Muzafar Ali has attempted to connect the various mountain ranges of Asia with the Purāṇic *varṣa-parvatas* : (i) Śṛṅgavat—Kara-tan-Kirghiz-Ketman chains ; (ii) Śveta—Nuru-tan-Turkestan-Atbashi chains ; (iii) Nīla—Zarafshan-trans-Alai-Tien-shan chains ; (iv) Niṣadha—Hindukush-Kuen-lun chains ; and (v) Himavat—the Great Himalayan range.[19]

All these attempts, though ingenious, hardly agree with the Purāṇic system, for the above ranges neither run parallel to one another nor extend, barring the Himalayan range, from sea to sea unless of course one is inclined to accept the deserts or large expanses of water as 'sea' as suggested by Ali.[20] It is not clear how we can explain the position of the supporting ranges, 'filament mountains' and boundary ranges in relation to the *varṣa-parvatas* except that the former chains may be of lesser dimensions, having formed the connecting links between the more formidable chains of the Himalayas and other important ranges of Central Asia. Neither the Pamir plateau surpasses others in height, much less reaches the neighbourhood of 84,000 *yojanas* which is given as the height of the Meru, nor does the description as given in the Purāṇas agree with its present position. In terms of real geography, however, the entire picture may at best convey 'some faint indications that the original account

---

17 *Vaiṣṇavism and Christianity*, pp. 48-49.

18 *Vallabh Vidyanagar Research Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1957, p. 40.

19 *The Geography of the Purāṇas*, p. 53.

20 *Loc. cit.*, C. V. Vaidya, starting from the premises that Jambu-dvīpa is the earth, takes the Meru to the North Pole and includes Russia, Norway, Sweden and North America within the Ilāvṛta-varṣa (*Vedic India*, pp. 269ff.).

may have been based on some real knowledge of the topography and physical features of Central and Northern Asia."[21] As a matter of fact, some of the so-called *varṣa-parvatas* are really parts of the Himalayan range, while some may belong to Central Asia. Al-Bīrūnī maintains that the Meru is in the Himavat and further informs us that Mt. Niṣadha, a *varṣa-parvata*, is really a part of the Himalayan chain.[22] The ancient cosmographers, apparently having no accurate knowledge of the vast plateau of Central Asia, had indulged in imaginary details and at times given fanciful accounts of the mountains and the *varṣas* and their inhabitants.[23]

That the Meru is situated due north of the Himalayas is clear from the Four-Continent theory of the earth preferred by the early Purāṇic and Buddhist writers although according to the Seven-Continent theory of the earth, two *varṣa-parvatas*, the Hemakūṭa and Niṣadha, intervene between the Himavat and Meru. Since both these ranges, the Hemakūṭa and Niṣadha, are taken to be parts of the Himalayan range, there seems to be no basic difference in all these accounts in placing the Meru somewhere in the north of the main chain of the Himalayas. The Meru is also associated with the land of the Uttara-Kurus (according to the Four-Continent theory of the earth) who were regarded as a real people in the later Vedic literature probably living in the region of Central Asia. Gradually "they came to be regarded as inhabiting the land of the gods probably about the Meru mountain near Central Asia

21 Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 73; cf. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 140, note 14.

22 Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 246; Vol. II, p. 142.

23 The Meru has been described as of golden colour being inhabited by Brahman and other gods; the Kailāsa is the habitat of Śiva and his consort; the Gandhamādana is the happy resort of the Yakṣas, Kinnaras and others. Cf. *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 54.14; *Brahmāṇḍa*, 35.15f.

and also as a mythical or semi-mythical people."[24] Some scholars suggest a relation between Mt. Meros of the Greek writers and Mt. Meru of Indian literature.[25] But since Mt. Meros lies near Nysa, which was probably situated between the Copen (Kabul) and the Indus,[26] it is far removed from the Meru, and the Meros should be looked for in the Afghanistan-West Pakistan region.

Both the Buddhist and Purāṇic writers have woven mysterious and fabulous stories around the Meru, out of which it is not an easy task to get the elements of real geography. There are, however, a few clues which may help us faintly to indicate its location. The Gaṅgā, according to the Purāṇic legends, which are also shared by the Buddhists in essence, flows down from the Meru after encircling the capital of Brahman.[27] This, according to N. L. Dey, points to the direction of the Rudra-Himālaya in Garhwal where the river Ganges has its source. It is near Badarik-āśrama. Dey also says that the local traditions associate the Kedārnāth mountain with the Sumeru-parvata.[28] But we have also seen that the *Mahābhārata* places it near the deserts of Central Asia (Takla Makan and Gobi). The topographical feature around the Kuen-lun region agreeing somewhat with the Meru or Ilāvṛta-varṣa possibly justifies in essence the opinion of Atkinson that "Meru in its widest sense embraces the elevated tableland of Western Tibet between the Kailāsa in the east and the Muztagh range on the west and between the Himavat on the south and the Kuen-lun range on the

24 Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
25 See B. C. Law, *Hist. Geog. Anc. Ind.*, p. 112.
26 Arrian, *Anab.*, Bk. IV, Chs. i and ii.
27 Cf. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 139; Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Anotatta*.
28 *Geog. Dict.*, p. 130.

north."[29] Stripped of all fabulous descriptions, therefore, the Kuen-lun has probably a good claim to be represented as Mt. Meru of ancient Indian literature, and as for the Meru° or Ilāvṛta-varṣa, it may also include the Takla Makan and Gobi deserts in the north in addition to the region noted above.

29 *Notes on the History of the Himalaya of the N.-W. P. of India*, Ch. I, p. 24. There is no sufficient reason to associate the Ilāvṛta-varṣa with the Ili river of China as suggested by Bagchi (*India and Central Asia*, p. 118) as other characteristic features of the region disagree.

EROTIC SCULPTURES IN ORISSAN TEMPLES

ADRIS BANERJI

A question that has to be decided is whether the erotic sculptures in the temples of Orissa were inspired by a particular religious order. The numerous Lakulīśa images on the *lalāṭabimba* of the *ūrdhvapaṭṭikās,* and on the *bāḍas* and other places of the Orissan temples, prove that, in early times, Orissa was a stronghold of the Pāśupata cult. The Kāpālikas or Kaulas were one of the sects of the Lākulīśas whose history, according to epigraphs, goes back to the centuries immediately preceding the birth of Christ. They were associated with the cult of the Yoginīs, in whose temples they performed their orgiastic and lustful practices. The existence of two Causaṭ Yoginī temples near Bhubaneswar is a significant fact. The Lākulīśa doctrines were possibly pure in the beginning ; but, in course of time, they degenerated and adopted obscene and objectionable practices. They are referred to by Somadeva, Kṣemendra and Yāmun-ācārya, and P. C. Bagchi showed that the Kaula practices received a tremendous impetus after Matsyendranātha.[1] The most important in their rituals were virgins as a means of fulfilment of their objective, through esoteric rites. Kṣemendra mercilessly attacked their debased and lecherous orgiastic worship and indulgence in wine, women and songs.[2] It was the Kāpālikas who practised human sacrifice, which we know took place at Bhubaneswar, Mayurbhanj and other places in Orissa. To Sri Pramod Chandra we are indebted for a mass of literary

1 *Kaulajñānanirṇaya and Some Minor Texts of the School of Matsyendranātha,* Calcutta Sanskrit Series, 1934, pp. 27, 35, 38-39 and 127.

2 *Daśopadeśanarmamālā,* 1923, pp. 24-25.

evidence including the fact that they always carried a club.[3] He has further tried to establish with the help of illustrations that the male of the erotic couples often carry a club in the sculptures of Khajuraho.[4] A scrutiny of Orissan sculptures may yield good results.

The Kāpālika-Lākulīśa sect originated at a place called Karvan, sometime before the birth of Christ, and reached Mathurā by the 1st century A.D. It is noteworthy that the Tantrayāna or Mantrayāna Buddhism also adopted the same forms of ritual as pointed out by B. Bhattacharya in his 'Introduction' to the *Sādhanamālā.* The Lākulīśas reached Mysore, and the whole of Karnatak came under their influence. By the 11th century, they were prominent in Andhra Pradesh. The occurrence of the image of Lakulīśa at Mukhaliṅgam might have been due to Cola-Gaṅga relations. In Orissa, theirs appears as one of the principal cults from the 7th century A.D. In Maharashtra, they had already entrenched themselves by the 7th century. About the same period, they also were established in Rajasthan, specially its hill tracts now known as the Kotah, Bundi, Bhilwara, Chitorgarh and Udaipur Districts. Hāritarāśi, the preceptor of the celebrated Bappa Rāval, was a Pāśupata *ācārya*, and the famous temple of Ekaliṅgajī was a stronghold of the Pāśupatas.

Bagchi has shown that long after the appearance of Lakulīśa, almost a millennium later, the cult practices and esoteric rituals were reformed by Matsyendranātha and Kṛṣṇapāda. But all their efforts were futile. Not even Śaṅkar-ācārya's measured reviling could retract people from the absurd practices; the magic that all esoteric worship has over mass mind was too strong. The origins

3 'Kaula-Kāpālika Cults at Khajuraho' in the *Lalit Kalā,* Nos. 1-2, 1956, pp. 103ff.

4 *Loc. cit.*

of this esoterism are probably deep-rooted in the pre-Aryan practices of India, whose germs are traceable in the Upaniṣads. When Vedic religion and culture lost vitality and the gentle creed of Buddhism and the extreme asceticism preached by Mahāvīra declined, leadership was lacking for cultivating a better moral and ethical life, and these elements, influenced the population's psychology. This is probably one of the reasons underlying the presence of erotic sculptures in the temples of Orissa. They appear to echo the orgiastic practices of the Kāpālikas.*

*[For similar views, see also Herman Goetz, 'The Historical Background of the Great Temples of Khajuraho' in the *Arts Asiatique*, Tome V, 1958, fasc. I, pp. 35ff. The theory that the Pāśupatas of the Mattamayūra class were responsible for the erotic representations is not supported by J. N. Banerjea, *Paurāṇic and Tāntric Religion*, p. 109. If the Pāśupata extremists were responsible for the erotic sculptures, it is rather difficult to explain their occurrence, e.g., in Vaiṣṇava shrines like the temple of Jagannātha at Purī.—Ed.]

INDOLOGICAL NOTES[1]

D. C. SIRCAR

4. *Date of the Mankuwar Buddha Image Inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I*

The village of Mankuwar lies near the right bank of the Yamunā, about nine miles to the south-west of Arail or Arayal, the chief town of the Pargana of that name in the Karchhana Tahsil (Sub-Division) of the Allahabad District of U.P. The inscription, discovered by Bhagwanlal Indraji in 1870 and brought to the notice of Alexander Cunnigham probably in 1880, is engraved on the front side of the pedestal of a seated Buddha image. The said image is stated to have been originally found in a brick mound in the area of Panch-Pahad (literally, 'Five Hillocks') to the north-east of Mankuwar and to have gone to the possession of the Gosāī of Deoriya or Dewariya. Cunningham published the text of the inscription, together with a lithograph, in his *Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. X, p. 7, while Indraji published his own reading of the text together with its translation in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVI, 1885, p. 354. J.F. Fleet later edited the epigraph in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III (*Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors*), 1888, pp. 45-47 (No. 11, Plate VI-A). The date of the inscription was read

---

1 Nos. 1-3 appeared above, Vol. I, pp. 83-98. In No. 2 (p. 90, note 20, line 6), add—Note, however, that, according to the late *Mudrārākṣasa* (Act VI, verse 6), probably composed about the close of the sixth century A.D. at the court of the Maukhari king Avantivarman, the Nanda king was regarded by his followers as born in a high family, while Candragupta is described as sprung from a low origin.

as the Gupta year 129 (448 A.D.) falling in the reign of Kumāragupta I (414-55 A.D.) of the Imperial Gupta house of Magadha.

It is well known that the number 129 was to be written in Brāhmī with the three signs for 100 and 20 and 9 and that the symbol for 20 is expected to have resembled the *akṣara tha* which was written in the age of Kumāragupta, not as a circle with a central dot as in the earlier period, but as elongated vertically with a horizontal stroke or bar in the middle instead of the dot. The attention of scholars may be drawn in this connection to the symbol for 20 in such copper and stone records of Kumāragupta's reign as the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur plate[2] (line 34) of the Gupta year 120 (439 A.D.), the Baigram[3] (line 25) and Jagadishpur[4] (line 28) plates of the Gupta year 128 (448 A.D.) and the Mathurā image inscription[5] (line 1) of the Gupta year 125 (444-45 A.D.) as well as the *akṣara tha* (simple and not in a conjunct) occurring in these epigraphs; e. g. *vaitheya* in line 1 of both the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur and Jagadishpur plates and *vīthī* in lines 3 and 4 of the former and line 4 of the latter; *dāsyath*=*ā*° in line 19 of the Baigram plate; etc.

The second of the three signs in the date of the Mankuwar inscription, read as 20, however, does not look like the 20 or *tha* sign in the records of Kumāragupta's time as noticed above. It is a small globular mark in which what looks like a tiny dot appears to be a flaw in the stone and not due to the engraver of the epigraph. Another

---

2 See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 57 ff., and Plates; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, 1965, pp. 357 ff., and Plates XLVIII-XLIX.

3 Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 81 f., and Plates; Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 355 ff., and Plates L-LI.

4 *Bāṅglā Academy Patrikā*, Dacca, Māgh-Caitra, 1370 B.S., pp. 36 ff., and Plates.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 153ff.

feature of the symbol that strikes us is its size which is about $\frac{1}{3}$ of the height of the preceding *100* and the following *9*. In case it was intended to be a numerical symbol like the other two signs, all the three signs would have had the same size. Under these circumstances, we have little doubt that the correct reading of the three signs in the date of the Mankuwar inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I is 100 and 0 and 9, i.e. the Gupta year 109 (428 A.D.). The cypher between the hundred and unit signs indicates the absence of the ten sign. This kind of influence of the decimal system, which became popular at a later date, was not known to earlier writers on Indian epigraphy and palaeography; but we had occasion to notice a few such cases.

The Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākara II of Orissa issued his Terundia plate[6] in the year 100 of the Bhauma-Kara era commencing in the year 831 A.D. What is of considerable interest is, however, that the number has not been written in the usual fashion by a single symbol. On the other hand, here the *lu* sign indicating 100 is followed unusually by a cypher apparently indicating the absence of the ten and unit elements in the date. Likewise, in both the Hindol and Dharakota plates[7] issued by king Śubhākara III of the same dynasty, the year of issue is quoted as 103; but it is interesting to note that, while the number 103 is written in the Dharakota plate as 100 and 3 in the usual way, the same number has been written in the Hindol plate as 100 and 0 and 3, the cypher between 100 and 3 no doubt indicating the absence of the ten element in it.

Another instance of a similar type is offered by the Chandeswar plates[8] of king Mānabhīta Dharmarāja (c. 695-

---

6 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 211 ff., and Plates.

7 B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 12-22; *JBORS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 69-83; *JAHRS*, Vol. IV, pp. 189-94. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 211 and notes.

8 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 269 ff., and Plates.

730 A.D.) of the Śailodbhava dynasty of Koṅgoda (about the Ganjam District of Orissa). The charter was issued in the 18th regnal year of the king and it is interesting that the date of the record, i.e. year 18, has been written not in the usual way as 10 and 8, but as 10 and 0 and 8. On this date, we had occasion to offer the following remark elsewhere: "This shows that the practices of writing numbers in symbols and figures were both prevalent in Orissa side by side in the age of the record. The twofold mistake in the present case is that ten was written by the symbol for 10 and a zero, instead of one and a zero, and that the zero was retained in spite of 8 occupying the place of the unit."[9]

Before the introduction of the decimal system of writing numerals, the system of expressing numbers by symbols was popular in all parts of the country. Even after the introduction of the decimal system, the old system retained its popularity in several areas for a long time and in some regions its influence is felt even today. The old system is noticed in Jain manuscripts of Western India and Buddhist manuscripts of Nepal till the sixteenth century while it is still used in Tamil and Malayalam in a modified form. The cases cited above exhibit the influence of the new system over the old, the two systems being mixed up. This mixing up was formerly known from the Tekkali (Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh) plates[10] of the Gaṅga year 154 (c. 651 A.D.) in which the date is written not as 200 and 50 and 4, but as 200 and 5 and 4. The earliest use of the decimal system is indicated by the Sankheda plates[11] of the Kalacuri year 346 (595 A.D.), so that it must have been introduced sometime before the

9 *Ibid.*, p. 269.

10 *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 309 f., and Plates.

last quarter of the sixth century. The evidence of the Mankuwar inscription discussed above would now push back the date of the introduction of the decimal system by more than a century and a half, i.e., before the second quarter of the fifth century A.D. Even on the basis of the inscription of 554 A.D., it has been said, "No other country in the world offers such an early instance of its use. Epigraphic evidece alone is, therefore, sufficient to assign a Hindu origin to the modern system of notation "[12]

5. *Nihilapati = Nihelapati*

A copper-plate grant issued by *Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja* Samudrasena, who was the son and successor of Raviṣeṇa, grandson of Sañjayasena and great-grandson of Varuṇasena and probably flourished in the seventh century A.D., was discovered in the forties of the nineteenth century at the village of Nirmand near the right bank of the Satlaj river, 21 miles north-east of Plach, chief town of the Tahsil of that name in the Kullu Sub-Division of the Kangra District of the Punjab. It was edited by Rajendralal Mitra in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XLVIII, *Proceedings*, pp. 212 ff., and again by J. F. Fleet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, pp. 286 ff. (No. 80, Plate XLIV). The inscription records the ratification of the grant of the village of Sūlisagrāma made by the ruler's mother Mihiralakṣmī in favour of the Brāhmaṇa students of the *Atharvaveda* at the *agrahāra* of Nirmaṇḍa for the god Śiva Mihireśvara established by the said lady at the temple of Kapāleśvara apparently in the same *agrahāra*, which is stated to have previously received a land

12 Datta and Singh, *History of Hindu Mathematics*, Part I, p. 49. We do not attach any importance to Kaye's fantastic views (cf. *ibid*., pp. 44ff.). For the views of the Arabs, cf. *JBRS*, Askari Vol., 1968, pp. 15 ff.

grant from *Mahārāja* Śarvavarman, probably the Maukhari king of that name (c. 565-80 A.D.). The *dūtaka* or executor of Samudrasena's grant was *Nihilapati* Kuśalaprakāśa. As regards *Nihilapati* which is obviously the official designation of Kuśalaprakāśa, Fleet says, "I have not been able to obtain any explanation of the first component of this official title."[13]

The same designation occurs in the Sungal plate[14] of king Vidagdha of Chamba, who flourished in the first half of the eleventh century A.D., in the form *Nihelapati* in the usual list of officers addressed by the king in connection with a grant of land. Here *Nihelapati* is mentioned in the company of other officers—*Kumārāmātya-Uparika-Viṣayapati-Nihelapati-Kṣetrapa-Prāntapāla*. Because *Nihelapati* is mentioned immediately after *Viṣayapati* (the governor of a district), we wrote as follows in our *Indian Epigrahical Glossary*, 1966, s.v.—"official designation of uncertain import; probably, the governor of a territorial unit; also spelt *Nihilapati*."

It is true that the word *ihela* or *nihila* cannot be traced in the Sanskrit lexicons; but *ṇihela* is well known in Prakrit as a form of Sanskrit *nīla*. Under the rule *dāḍh-ādayo bahulam* (IV. 33) in the *Prākṛtaprakāśa* of Vararuci (c. 4th-5th century A.D.), both the early commentaries, viz. the *Prākṛtamañjarī* by Kātyāyana (c. 6th-7th century A.D.) and the *Manoramā* by Bhāmaha (c. 7th-8th century A.D.) quote *nīla*=*ṇihelaṁ* among the illustrations.[15] According to a *vārttika* on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*,[16] the word *nīla* is used in the sense of 'dyed with indigo' while *nīlī* means the indigo plant. There is, however, evidence in epigraphic

13 Cf. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 291, note 2.

14 See Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I, p. 166.

15 See Sircar, *A Grammar of the Prakrit Language*, p. 38; cf. p. 3.

16 IV. 2.2—*lākṣārocanāt=ṭhak—nītyā an vaktavyaḥ*.

literature to show that *nīla* was also used in the sense of 'indigo'. Thus the Sanskrit charter[17] of king Viṣṇuṣeṇa (592 A.D.), from the Gujarat region of Western India, uses the expression *nīla-ḍumphaka* in the passage *dheṅku-kaḍḍhaka-nīla-ḍumphakāś=ca viṣṭiṁ na kārayitavyāḥ* (line 8) and the expression *nīla-kuṭī* in another passage reading *nīla-kuṭy-ādānaṁ ḍumphakena deyaṁ rūpaka-trayaṁ rū 3* (lines 19-20). The expression *nīla-kuṭī* has been explained as an indigo-factory and *ḍumphaka* has been taken to stand for Sanskrit *dṛmphaka* meaning 'one who presses', so that *nīla-ḍumphaka* would mean a manufacturer of blue dye from the indigo plant. In *dheṅku-kaḍḍhaka*, *dheṅku* has been compared to Gujarātī *ḍhikvo*, Hindī *ḍheṅklī* or *ḍheṅkul* used in the sense of a contrivance (based on the principle of lever) for drawing water from a well, while *kaḍḍhaka* has been regarded as the Prakrit form of Sanskrit *karṣaka* so that *ḍheṅku-kaḍḍhaka* would be the drawer of water for the irrigation of fields. In the first of the two sentences quoted from Viṣṇuṣeṇa's charter, the water-drawers and indigo-pressers are exempted from free labour (*viṣṭi*) while the second sentence says that the indigo-presser maintaining an indigo-factory was liable to pay a tax of three *rūpakas* (silver coins each about 20 *ratis* in weight).[18]

The quotations from Viṣṇuṣeṇa's charter of the close of the sixth century would show that often Prakrit words were adopted in Sanskrit inscriptions.[19] It is therefore not improbable that the Nirmand plates of the seventh century

---

17 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 163 ff.

18 See *ibid.*, p. 172 (No. 19) and p. 176 (No. 48).

19 Other interesting words used in the inscription are *unmara* (Sanskrit *umbara*, threshold), *khovā* (possibly, 'the share of the lord of the market'), *vārika* (officer; cf. *Peṭavika-vārika*, *Uttarakulika-vārika*, *Kalvapāla-vārika*), *reṣa* (?), *utkṛṣṭī* (Sanskrit *utkrośa*, wailing), *dhārmika* (cess payable in addition to tax to meet expenses of conduct-

uses the pseudo-Sanskrit expression *nikhilapati* in the sense of *nīlīpati* or *nīlapati*, i.e. an officer in charge of indigo or the indigo factories.

It has been suggested that India used a far larger number of plants for extracting the blue dye than any other country of the world, so that the Aryans may have made acquaintance with indigo in India itself.[20] Indian indigo was valued in Western Asia, Egypt and the Mediterranean countries as a dye and a medicine.[21] *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (c. 82 A.D.) refers to its export from the Lower Valley of the Indus.[22] Pliny (23-79 A.D.) says, "We have indicum, a substance imported from India.........''[23]

The records of Viṣṇuṣeṇa, Samudrasena and Vidagdha would suggest that indigo was probably cultivated in

---

ing some religious ceremony), *chātra* (a constable), *saṁvadana* (probably. informing), *jayika* (the winning party), *bhāṣā* (written declaration), *phālāvana* (protection of ploughed field), *ullambana* (probably, hanging), *vinaya* (fine), *tauṇḍika* (biting of crops with mouth), *avalokya* (probably, detection), *dosya* (possibly, clothes), *kāṁsya* (bronze utensils), *bharolaka* (possibly, distillery), *grahaṇaka* (possibly, custody), *daṇḍaka* (possibly, rule regarding the supply of the royal share of wine), *śoṭi* (pot for measuring liquids like wine), *cāturtha* (quarter of the standard measure), *ikṣu-vāṭa* (sugarcane plantation), *alla-vāṭa* (probably, ginger plantation, or low land), *yantra-kuṭī* (oil mill or manufactory), *śulk-ātiyātrika* (boundary-crossing tax), *bhāṇḍa-bhṛta-vahitra* (wagon or boat full of vessels), *mahiṣ-oṣṭra-bharaka* (a pack of buffaloes and camels), *poṭṭalikā-saṁkācitaka* (bundles suspended from loops), *ārdrakalakaṭā* (dried ginger-sticks, or undried firewood), *kaṇikkā* (Sanskrit *kaṇikā*, cummin seed), *varṇikā* (Prakrit *vaṇṇiā*, a sample), *setikā* (Prakrit *seiā*, *seigā*, a measure equal to two *prasṛtis* or four *palas*), *paṭṭaka-dhārmika* (a case of transit legalised by passport), *madya-vahanaka* (a boat or vehicle full of wine), *chimpaka* (Prakrit *chimpaya*, a dyer of clothes), *padakāra* (shoe- maker, or hawker), *kolika* (Sanskrit *kaulika*, weaver), etc.

20 G. Watt, *The Commercial Products of India*, 1908, p. 663.

21 W. H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 172.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 38.

23 *Ibid.*, pp. 172-73; Pliny, XXXV. 25-27.

Gujarat, the Punjab and Chamba (Himachal Pradesh) in early times. The first and second of the three regions, it is interesting to note, are known to have continued indigo cultivation till recent times. As regards Gujarat, we are told, "in the 16th and 17th centuries, indigo, partly of local growth and partly brought from Upper India was one of the chief exports of Gujarat. Towards the close of the 18th century (1777), the cultivation, chiefly for local use, would seem to have been on a very considerable scale."[24] The Russian traveller Athanasius Nikitin (1468) speaks of Kanbat (Cambay in Gujarat) as growing indigo.[25] The production of indigo in Gujarat or in particular localities in the region, e.g., Cambay, Ahmedabad, Surat and Broach, is further mentioned by Linschoten (1598), Francois Pyrard (1601-10), Terry (1622), Mandelslo (1638) and Tavernier (1670).[26]

As regards the Punjab region, it is said that "the estimated area under indigo plantation in 1904-05 was 53,000 acres and the yield 9,900 cwt. and the most important districts for the production were then Multan, Muzaffarabad, Dehra Ghazi Khan and Rohtak."[27] Birdwood and Foster (1605-06) speak of Lahar (Lahore) as a place producing indigo.[28]

6. *Garga-Yavana and Kāla-Yavana*

There is a stanza in the Madanpāḍā (verse 17)[29] and Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat (verse 22)[30] plates of Viśvarūpasena

24 Watt, *op. cit.*, pp. 676-77.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 664. Garcia de Orta (1563) also speaks of the cultivation and manufacture of blue dye in Western India and of the *gāli* and *nil* of Gujarat (*loc. cit.*).

26 See *ibid.*, pp. 664-66.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 676.

28 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 664.

29 N. G. Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, p. 135; see also D. C. Sircar in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 323.

30 N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

(1206-20 A.D.), son of Lakṣmaṇasena (1179-1206 A.D.), though its second half is cut off from the latter epigraph. The same stanza also occurs in the Edilpur plate (verse 21)[31] of Viśvarūpasena, though it is often wrongly ascribed to an imaginary brother of his, named Keśavasena.[32] The last foot of the stanza reads—*sa Garga-Yavan-ānvaya-pralaya-Kāla-Rudro nṛpaḥ* which says that the said king (Viśvarūpasena) was, to the race of the Garga-Yavanas, the very Kāla-Rudra (i.e. Rudra the Death or destroyer) on the day of *pralaya* (destruction of a *yuga*). Scholars are unanimous in holding that the enemies of Viśvarūpasena, called Garga-Yavana in the inscriptions, were no other than the Turkish Musalmans[33] who conquered the western part of the Sena empire from Lakṣmaṇasena and made their head-quarters at Lakṣmaṇāvatī near Gaur in the Malda District of West Bengal.

That the Musalmans are called Yavana[34] and rarely Śaka[35] or Yavana-Śaka[36] in mediaeval records is well known ; but why they are called Garga-Yavana in this case has not been satisfactorily explained. K.P. Jayaswal regarded *Garga* as the same as *Garjha*, i.e. Gharzistān, and supposed that the Garga-Yavana enemies of Viśvarūpasena were some Muslim raiders led by Muḥammad Ghūrī,[37] though the suggestion has been regarded as merely a guess.[38]

The expression *Garga-Yavana* reminds us of the similar

---

31 *Ibid.*, pp. 123-24.

32 See D. C. Sircar in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 314ff.

33 Cf. R. D. Banerji, *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd ed., p. 355; *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 226; D. C. Sircar in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 317.

34 See Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, Nos. 751, 764, 1027, 1115, 1149, 1152.

35 *Ibid.*, No. 926.

36 *Ibid.*, No. 859.

37 *JBORS*, Vol. IV, 1918, p. 171.

38 R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 226, note 3.

expression *Kāla-Yavana* which seems to be used in Sanskrit literature sometimes as the name of a people and often as the name of a person. The *Daśakumāracarita*[39] mentions a *dvīpa* (a Dwab or island) called Kāla-Yavana probably because it was regarded as the land of the Kāla-Yavanas. Since the name implies 'the Black-complexioned Yavana', it is possible to think that some African territory inhabited by the Negroes is meant.

An enemy of the Yādava hero Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa is mentioned by the name Kāla-Yavana in the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* in certain stories which are sometimes mutually irreconcilable. In II. 52, the *Harivaṁśa* mentions how the sage Gārgya propitiated the god Śiva by his penances and obtained a son named Kāla-Yavana who could not be killed by the Yādavas of Mathurā. Elsewhere (I.35) the same work says that Gārgya, who was the priest of the Yādavas, was tauntingly called impotent by the priest of his wife's brother, the king of Trigarta, and obtained a son after twelve years through an *apsaras* named Gopālī. The child being left by its mother was brought up in the harem of the childless Yavana king and became famous under the name Kāla-Yavana. When this Kāla-Yavana invaded Mathurā at the advice of Nārada, Kṛṣṇa left Mathurā and settled at Kuśasthalī-Dvāravatī at the advice of the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas. In the *Harivaṁśa*, II. 53 ff., we are told that Sālva, being instigated by Jarāsandha and other kings, went to the capital of the Yavana king and advised Kāla-Yavana to crush Kṛṣṇa at Mathurā. Kṛṣṇa, however, had left Mathurā for Dvāravatī before Kāla-Yavana reached the place ; but the latter followed him to Dvāravatī. For fear of Kāla-Yavana, Kṛṣṇa hid himself in the cavern where Māndhātṛ's son Mucukunda was sleeping, because, according

---

39 Ed. Jibananda Vidyasagar, 1894, p. 22.

to a boon received by Mucukunda from the gods, whoever would arouse him from sleep would be automatically burnt to death at his glance. Kāla-Yavana reached the said cave in pursuit of Kṛṣṇa and was killed because he had roused Mucukunda from his sleep. Kṛṣṇa then obtained Kāla-Yavana's wealth, part of which he offered to Ugrasena and beautified the city of Dvāravatī with the remainder of it. In II. 57, the *Harivaṁśa* says that Kāla-Yavana, the king of the Yavanas, was assisted by such Mlecchas as the Śakas, Tuṣāras, Daradas, Pāradas, Taṅganas, Khasas, and Haimavatas. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (V. 23), however, says that the wife of the Yavana king obtained a son named Kāla-Yavana through the sage Gārgya. It is possible that, in these cases, Kāla-Yavana was so named because he was conceived as the king of the Yavanas or Kāla-Yavanas.

The story of Kāla-Yavana is also mentioned sometimes as that of the Yavana or the Yavana king in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, X. 50-52 ; *Brahma Purāṇa*, 196 ; *Padma Purāṇa*, Uttara-khaṇḍa. 246 ; *Gargasaṁhitā*, Dvāra. 2 ; *Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa*, Uttara. 17 ; *Devī-Bhāgavata*, IV. 24.

What is of considerable interest is that the sage, who was the priest of the Yādavas, is called by the name Gārgya (literally, 'a descendant of Garga' or belonging to Garga's *gotra*) in works like the *Harivaṁśa* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* ; but the same priest of the Yādavas is mentioned as Garga in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (X. 8. 1). Like *Ikṣvāku*, *Raghu*, *Kuru*, etc., meaning respectively the kings of those names as well as their descendants, the name *Garga* would also mean 'a descendant of Garga', so that the race of Kāla-Yavana, 'the Black-complexioned Yavana', may have also been mentioned as Garga-Yavana, i.e. 'the Yavana who was a descendant of Garga', both probably meaning the Negroes of Africa originally, but later the Muslims coming from any land of the west.

7. *Vidiśā Jain Image Inscriptions of the time of Rāmagupta*

The story of Viśākhadatta's *Devīcandragupta* (composed about the close of the sixth century A.D.), which is known only from certain quotations in works on dramaturgy, is echoed partly in several later epigraphic and literary records and speaks of Rāmagupta as the immediate predecessor of Candragupta II Vikramāditya (376-413 A.D.) on the Imperial Gupta throne of Magadha.[40] Scholars were, however, divided on the *Devīcandragupta* tradition, one group regarding Rāmagupta as an Imperial Gupta monarch ruling for some time between the reigns of Samudragupta and Candragupta II, while another group being dubious about Rāmagupta's rule from the Gupta throne without further evidence.[41]

When some copper coins, bearing the name of Rāmagupta (without any royal title) and the figure of a lion and resembling the monetary issues of the Mālavas of Rajasthan and the Nāgas of Malwa, were discovered in the region of East Malwa, the first group of scholars hailed the evidence as establishing Rāmagupta's rule from the Imperial Gupta throne, though the second group regarded the issuer of the said copper coins to be a local ruler of the East Malwa region having no dynastic relation with the Gupta emperors.[42] When some of Rāmagupta's coins were found to bear the symbol of Garuḍa (seated, facing,

40 See Sircar, *Ancient Malwa and the Vikramāditya Tradition*, pp. 138 ff.

41 Cf., e.g., A. S. Altekar in *JBORS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 223 ff.; Vol. XV, pp. 134 ff.; H. C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, p. 465, note 1; and R. C. Majumdar in *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, pp. 161 ff. (p. 161, note 1, for references to other early writings on the subject).

42 See Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, pp. 222-23 (with references); Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 162 ff.

with outspread wings) instead of the lion emblem on the reverse, it was supposed by the first group that, since Garuḍa was the dynastic emblem of the Guptas, Rāmagupta's rule from the Gupta throne was now proved beyond doubt;[43] but the second group drew attention to similar copper coins of Indragupta and *Mahārāja* Harigupta with Garuḍa on the reverse and to the Ichchhawar (Banda District, U. P.) inscription of about the fifth century A.D., which refers to a ruler named Harirāja called *Gupta-vaṁśodita* (born in the Gupta dynasty), and observed that the Garuḍa coins of Rāmagupta, Indragupta and *Mahārāja* Harigupta, who were apparently local rulers of the East Malwa region and issued copper coins imitated from Imperial Gupta types on the decline of Gupta power, do not prove that any of them belonged to the Imperial Gupta dynasty.[44]

Recently three Jain images – two of the eighth Tīrthaṅkara Candrapabha and one of the ninth Tīrthaṅkara Puṣpadanta (Suvidhinātha)—were discovered at Vidiśā and have been found to bear inscriptions which say that all of them were caused to be made by *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāmagupta (who was apparently a Jain) under instruction from the Jain mendicant Cella-kṣamaṇa (i.e. Cella-kṣapaṇa, 'Cella the mendicant') whose name has been wrongly read as Celū.[45] The charact-

43 *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 340 ff.

44 Cf. Sircar, *Stud. Ind. Coins*, pp. 227 ff.; cf. p. 225. It was suggested that these rulers of the East Malwa region were related to the Later Guptas originally of Mālava and later of Magadha (*ibid.*, p. 229, note). The mention of the issuers of the coins with or without royal title is of course not a satisfactory evidence since the Gupta emperor Candragupta II, e.g., has the title *Mahārājādhirāja* on some coins and *Mahārāja* on some, but no title on others. See, e.g., Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 90-159. The title *Mahārāja* is usually found on the copper coins of Candragupta II.

45 *Journ. Or. Inst.*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, March, 1969, pp. 247 ff. *Kṣamaṇa* is the same as Prakrit *Khamaṇa* and Sanskrit *Kṣapaṇa* or *Kṣapaṇaka*. The name *Cella* literally means 'a disciple'.

ers of the inscriptions have been compared to those of the Sanchi inscription of Candragupta II and it has been claimed that the title *Mahārājādhirāja*, which was characteristic of the Gupta emperors, points to Rāmagupta's imperial status so that he must be the elder brother of Candragupta II who ousted him about 376 A.D.

In this connection, the second group of scholars would, however, like to point out the following facts. In the first place, unlike the Gupta emperors who were Bhāgavatas or Vaiṣṇavas, this Rāmagupta was a Jain, so that it is difficult to make a place for him among the early Gupta monarchs. Secondly, the coins and inscriptions bearing the name of Rāmagupta have been found only in East Malwa with which he should therefore be associated. Thirdly, it is probably not absolutely certain that Rāmagupta of the coins is identical with *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāmagupta of the Vidiśā inscriptions. Fourthly, comparing the characters of the Vidiśā inscriptions with those of records in the West Indian variety of the South Indian script such as the Sanchi inscription (412 A.D.)[46] of Candragupta II, the Mandasor inscription (473 A.D.)[47] mentioning Kumāragupta I and Bandhuvarman, the Mandasor and Chhoti-Sadri (491 A.D.)[48] inscriptions of Gauri, Viṣṇuṣeṇa's charter (592 A.D.),[49] etc., we feel that *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāmagupta flourished in the Vidiśā region after the Guptas and Hūṇas were struggling in the Malwa teritory about the close of the fifth century A.D. and may have b en an early member of the so-called Later Gupta dynasty of Mālava or East Malwa. He may have been an as yet unknown younger brother of the later Gupta

46 *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 29 ff.

47 *Ibid.*, pp. 79 ff.

48 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 120 ff.

49 *Ibid.*, pp. 163 ff.

king Jīvitagupta I who seems to have been the first independent ruler of the family. The absence of his mention in the Aphsad inscription[50] of Ādityasena is easily explained because the court poets often traced the genealogy from father to son and ignored a brother who may have ruled between his brother and the latter's son.[51] It should also be remembered that Devagupta, known from Harṣa's grants[52] and usually identified with the Mālava king of the *Harṣacarita* who is generally supposed to have ruled the Later Gupta kingdom after king Mahāsenagupta,[53] is also not mentioned in the Aphsad inscription.

We are inclined to say a word here on a problem associated with this topic, about which scholars appear to have confused ideas. This is Viśākhadatta's representation of his hero Candragupta as marrying his elder brother's (Rāmagupta's) widow. We do not believe that the said custom was popular either in the fourth century A. D. when Candragupta ascended the throne or in the days of Viśākhadatta whom we are inclined to assign to the close of the sixth century A.D. But Viśākhadatta apparently placed the plot of his *Devīcandragupta* in very ancient times when the said type of marriage was admissible in his opinion. Such evidence as Sītā's suspicion that Lakṣmaṇa was not going to Rāma's help (in the *svarṇa-mṛga* episode) because he would welcome his brother's death so that the latter's widow would be available to him (*Rāmāyaṇa*, III. 45) may have influenced

50 Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, No. 1552.

51 Note the absence of Skandagupta in the legend of the seals of Narasiṁhagupta, Budhagupta, Kumāragupta II and Viṣṇugupta. Narasiṁhagupta and Budhagupta were brothers; but Narasiṁha's descendants, Kumāragupta II and Viṣṇugupta, do not mention Budhagupta among their ancestors.

52 See Bhandarkar's List, No. 1385 and note 4, and also No. 1386,

53 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 294 ff.

our dramatist.[54] This case seems to be exactly similar to Bhavabhūti introducing the ancient beef-eating Brāhmaṇas in his *Uttararāmacarita* (Act IV). Even though beef-eating had become obsolete among the Brāhmaṇas long before Bhavabhūti flourished in the eighth century A.D., it was mentioned in order to create an atmosphere of antiquity to which the plot of the drama belonged.

The following letters and signs as found in the Vidiśā inscriptions are very considerably later than those in the Sanchi inscription of Candragupta II :—*va* in *bhagavato*, etc., *ca*, *pa* (cf. the last letter of line 2) and subcript *ra* in *Candraprabha*, etc., in line 1 ; *ha* and *ja* in *hārājā*, and *ma* in *Rāma* in line 2 ; *ma* in *śramaṇa* in line 3 ; subscript *ṣa*, and *ma* in *kṣamaṇa* in line 4 ; etc. Some of the letters (e.g. *ma*) appear to be later than Gauri's records of the fifth century. The letter *va* resembles its form in Viṣṇuṣena's grant. Thus the characters of the Vidiśā incriptions of *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāmagupta do not appear to be earlier than the sixth century A.D. ; that is to say, they are more than a century later than the date of Rāmagupta suggested by the *Devīcandragupta*. They may be assigned to an age when kings belonging to dynasties that assumed independence after the fall of the Guptas adopted imperial style, e.g., Aulikara Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana (532 A.D.) of Mandasor called *Rājādhirāja-Parameśvara*[55] and Maukhari

54 Viśākhadatta may have also been influenced by Sugrīva's marriage with his brother Vālin's widow Tārā and Vibhiṣaṇa's marriage with his brother Rāvaṇa's widow Mandodarī and by the custom of *niyoga* according to which procreation of children on the elder brother's wife was allowed. The law of the Buddhists is stated to have permitted a man to marry his brother's widow (*Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, Vol. XIII, 1888, p. 368, note). It seems that marriage with one's elder brother's widow was prevalent in Nonaryan society, but was later more or less tolerated by the people after the admixture of Aryan and Nonaryan blood had taken place on Indian soil.

55 Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, 2nd ed., p. 413 (verse 7).

Īśānavarman (553 A.D.) of Kanauj and others called *Mahārājādhirāja*.[56] About the first quarter of the sixth century A.D., Gupta rule was ousted from Malwa which appears to have been then under the possession of the Hūṇa kings Toramāṇa and Mihirakula. Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana defeated Mihirakula and established his own rule in West Malwa, and the Later Guptas are found about his time to have been flourishing in Mālava (East Malwa). Kumāragupta (third quarter of the sixth century A.D.) of the Later Gupta dynasty was a later contemporary of Maukhari Īśānavarman, and he was the son of Jīvitagupta I (probably the first independent ruler of the family), grandson of Harṣagupta and great-grandson of Kṛṣṇagupta.[57] Rāmagupta of the Vidiśā inscriptions appears to be related to the said rulers of East Malwa with names ending in *gupta*.

Rāmagupta's claim to be a scion of the Imperial Gupta family can be cenceded only when we discover his gold coins of the Gupta fabric and his inscription or seal representing him as the descendant of known members of the Gupta dynasty.

The three inscriptions have practically the same text, though two of them speak of the image of Candraprabha and one of an image of Puṣpadanta and the preservation of the writing is satisfactory only in one out of the three records, parts of two of them being totally damaged. The first of the three epigraphs reads as follows :—

1 bhagavato=rhataḥ Candraprabhasya pratim=eyaṁ kāritā ma-

2 hārājādhirāja-śrī-Rāmaguptena upadeśāt=pāṇipā-

3 trika-Candrak[ṣam - ā]cāryya-kṣama(pa)ṇa-śramaṇa-praśisya(sya*) ācā-

---

56 *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 220.

57 Cf. Sircar, *Ancient Malwa and the Vikramāditya Tradition*, pp. 14-15.

4 ryya - Sarppasena - kṣama(pa)ṇa - śiṣyasya Golakyāntyā(ḥ*) satpū(tpu)trasya Cella-kṣama(pa)ṇasy = eti //—

In the place of *Candraprabhasya* one record has *Puṣpadantasya*

The text may be translated as follows :—

"This image of Lord Candraprabha, the Arhat, has been caused to be made by the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāmagupta under instruction from the mendicant Cella, who is the good son of Golakyāntī, the disciple of the teacher Sarpasena, the mendicant, [and] the disciple's disciple of the teacher Candrakṣama, the mendicant and monk, who took a vow to use his palms as a bowl (i.e. to eat and drink only from his hands)."

It is difficult to say why the mendicant Cella has been specially called "the good son of Golakyāntī."

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF ARCHAEOLOGY
1 APR 1974

GLIMPSES OF SOCIAL LIFE IN THE KATHĀSARITSĀGARA

A.K. CHATTERJEE

An interesting reference in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* is to widow-pension in a stanza which runs as follows :—

Mṛte bhartary = aputrāyās = tasyā me vṛttaye = munā |
taj-jīvana-caturbhāgo datto rājñā dayālunā ||[1]

The above-quoted verse shows that, on the death of the husband, the childless woman got a fourth of the monthly salary of her husband who was an employee at the court of king Śrīsena of Mālava. We have no other example of similar widow-pension in ancient India.

It is interesting to note that in those days there was no love lost between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law and also between the latter and her sister-in-law. In one chapter[2] of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, we have the story of a crafty and cruel mother-in-law and her innocent daughter-in-law. We cannot do better than to quote the following from the said story : "Many misfortunes befall wives, inflicted by mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law ; therefore, I desire for you a husband's house of such a kind that in it there shall be no mother-in-law and no cruel sister-in-law."[3]

The *Kathāsaritsāgara* has tales about cheats, and we have the well-known story of Śiva and Mādhava.[4] But the

---

1 Ed. Parab and Durgaprasad, 73.258; see also Tawney and Penzer, *The Ocean of Story*, Vol. VI, p. 119. [See below Proceedings of the Monthly Seminars held at the Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC, No. XXXVIII.—Ed.]

2 No. 29.

3 29. 117; see also Tawney and Penzer, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 54-55.

4 Chapter 24.

reference[5] to physician-cheats or quacks is of greater significance. In this story, we are told how a quack successfully cheated a foolish bald man. There is one clear and unequivocal reference to a case of widow-remarriage. In the story in question, the daughter of king Devasena of Puṇḍravardhana remarries after the death of her husband and again after the demise of her second husband. This proves that widow-marriage was possible in ancient India not only in theory,[6] but also in practice.

There are some references to peculiar instruments in the same work ; cf. "That machine, in which earth predominates, shuts doors and things of the kind. ......The shapes produced by the water-machine appear to be alive. But the machine in which fire predominates pours forth flames. And the wind machine performs actions, such as coming and going. And the machine produced from ether utters distinct language........ the wheel machine guards the water of immortality."[7]

There is, however, no reason to suppose that all the instruments or machines, described above, existed in reality. But the first and the third of the list of instruments, viz. the earth-machine which shuts doors of all kinds and the fire-machine which pours forth falmes, might have existed. The

---

5 61. 180 ff.; Tawney and Penzer, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 83 f.

6 Cf. *Parāśara*, IV. 30:
Naṣṭe mṛte pravrajite klībe ca patite patau ||
pañcasv=āpatsu nārīṇāṁ patir=anyo vidhīyate ||
This verse is also repeated in the *Nāradasmṛti*, XII. 97.

7 See Tawney and Penzer, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 42; also 29.44-46:
Pṛthvī-pradhānaṁ yantraṁ yad=dvārādi pidadhāti tat |
pihitaṁ tena śaknoti na c=odghāṭayituṁ paraḥ ||
ākāras=toya-yantr-otthaḥ sajīva iva dṛśyate |
tejomayaṁ tu yad=yantraṁ taj=jvālāḥ parimuñcati ||
vāta-yantraṁ ca kuruṭe ceṣṭā gaty-āgam-ādikāḥ |
vyaktīkaroti c=ālāpaṁ yantram=ākāśa-sambhavaṁ ||

first-named instrument was obviously used to thwart the attempts of thieves at door-breaking. The fire-machine, described above, reminds us of the machine of the same kind referred to in the *Mahābhārata*.[8] The last named instrument (*ākāśa-sambhava yantra*) reminds us of the modern telephone.

The work shows the predominant role the merchant class played in the society. A good number of the heroes and heroines are the sons and daughters of merchants. Sometimes a merchant's son was considered a more covetable bridegroom than a prince. It is said in this connection, "The prosperity of kings is very unstable, being like a courtesan to be enjoyed by force; but the prosperity of merchants is like a woman of good family."[9] There are, however, also uncharitable remarks; e.g., in one place we are told that the merchants are eternally greedy for wealth (*dhana-lubdha*).[10]

The *Kathāsaritsāgara* does not offer us any character like the Brāhmaṇa of Ekacakrā[11] or a simple ascetic like Trijaṭa.[12] The Brāhmaṇas of this work are practical. Some of them are gamblers, e.g., Śaktideva (Ch. 24) and Vinītamati (Ch. 72), some avaricious and mean like Śaṅkarasvāmin (Ch. 24) and some thieves like Vasubhūti (Ch. 73) who has

---

8 Critical ed., III. 16.6; see also P. C. Roy's trans., Vol. II, p. 37.

9 See Tawney and Penzer, Vol. VIII, p. 50.

10 3.54; see also Tawney and Penzer, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 28; cf. *Mahābhārata*: "Good deeds are very rare in those that amass riches. It is said that wealth can never be acquired without injuring others, and that, when earned, it brings numerous troubles" (P. C. Roy's trans., Vol. VIII, p. 50).

Ye vittam=abhipadyante samyaktvaṁ teṣu durlabham |
druhyataḥ praiti tat prāhuḥ pratikūlaṁ yathātatham || (XII, 26.20) See also *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VIII. 127-29, to which my attention was drawn by Prof. D. C. Sircar.

11 See *Mbh.*, I. 156 ff.

12 See *Rāmāyaṇa*, II. 32.29 ff.

been described as a *Cauracamūpati.*[13] The story of seven foolish Brāhmaṇa lads (Ch. 32) shows that there was no dearth of blockheads even in the highest caste. That the people of other castes had no special respect for the Brāhmaṇas is shown by the fact that even a washerman (*dhāvaka*) does not hesitate to kick a Brāhmaṇa woman.[14]

There are harrowing details about famines in various sections of the *Kathāsaritsāgara.*[15] Sometimes even Brāhmaṇas were forced to eat the flesh of cow in order to save themselves from hunger.[16] In such times even the husbands did not hesitate to abandon their wives.[17]

The profligate and faithless women outnumbered the devoted ones. As a matter of fact, there are more cuckolds in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* than in the *Decameron* of Boccaccio. Cases are not rare where a woman does not hesitate to cut the throat of her husband for her paramour (Ch. 32). The stories of Devasmitā (Ch. 13) and Kīrtisenā (Ch. 29), however, speak of women of high character. Devasmitā reminds us of Imogen of the *Cymbeline.* We also come across highly sophisticated and educated girls like Kanakarekhā (Ch. 24) and Udayavatī (Ch. 72) who could outwit in debate vastly learned persons belonging to the other sex.

Gambling was a great vice of the people, and we have referred to two Brāhmaṇas named Śaktideva and Vinītamati who were gamblers. It has been said : "Has not providence ordained for you the usual lot of the gambler ? His arms are his only clothing, the dust is his bed, the cross-roads are his house, ruin is his wife."[18]

---

13 73. 206.

14 72. 208.

15 Tawney and Penzer, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 106;
bāhu prāvaraṇaṃ śayyā pāṃśavaś=catvaraṃ gṛham |
bhāryā vidhvastatā dhātrā kitavasya hi nirmitam || (73.77).

Anti-social elements like thieves and robbers were very active. Roads were not safe and we have in one place[16] a lively and graphic account of a bloody clash between a group of merchants and a band of robbers. Some of the Nonaryan tribes like the Bhils, Śavaras and Kirātas werē regular bandits. Robbers were usually awarded the highest punishment.[17]

---

16 19.106 ff.; see also Tawney and Penzer, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 46 ff.

17 See Tawney and Penzer, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 60-62.

VAṬUKA-BHAIRAVA ON A SEAL

Sm. Chitrarekha Gupta

I am indebted to Sri Premranjan Sen Gupta of 37/1 Gariahat Road, Calcutta-19, for giving me the opportunity of studying an interesting seal which is the subject of the present note, and to Sri Benu Sen for supplying me with a photograph of it. The seal was collected by Sri Sen Gupta from Rajgir or Nalanda, a decade ago. Made of well-burnt clay and circular in shape, the seal is 3.2 cm in diameter. The thickness of the disc varies from 4 to 6 cm. There are four holes across the length of the seal obviously for passing a thread. The reverse is flat.

The seal depicts a male figure, apparently nude, seated in *lalit-āsana* on a couch, the two front legs of which are prominently shown. A serpent encircles his head, thus making a crown for him. His eyes are blurred. His nose is like that of a parrot and his upper lip is unusually heavy. On the whole, the facial expression is not a pleasing one. He has a pot belly with a deep navel mark. He wears a girdle around his waist, and is two-armed. The left hand placed against the chest seems to be in the *abhaya-mudrā*. The right hand is raised, and holds an uncertain object. To his left, there is a crouching dog, represented in profile and depicted vertically. To the right is a female figure, with an uncouth face, holding what may be a lamp-stand. At the back, over the left shoulder of the main figure, the branch of a tree can be seen. The symbol depicted over his right shoulder cannot be identified.

The association of the figure with a serpent, his nudity, the flabbiness of his body, the tree motif, etc., lead one to suggest that he is a Śaivite deity. His companion, the dog,

however, makes the indentification certain. The deity represented on the seal is Vaṭuka-Bhairava.[1]

According to the description given in the *Rūpamaṇḍana*,[2] Vaṭuka-Bhairava should have eight-arms, six of which are to hold the *khaṭvāṅga, pāśa, śūla, ḍamaru, kapāla* and a snake, while one of the remaining hands should hold a piece of flesh and the other should be in the *abhaya-mudrā.* By the side of the deity, there should be a dog.

The *Vaṭukabhairavakalpa*,[3] on the other hand, describes the deity as follows : "This aspect of Bhairava should have *jaṭās* of red colour, three eyes and a red body. He should carry in his hands the *śūla, pāśa, ḍamaru* and *kapāla* and be riding upon a dog. Vaṭuka-Bhairava should be stark naked and be surrounded on all sides by a host of demons."

The description of Vaṭuka-Bhairava, as given in the *Sāradātilaka Tantra*,[4] however, is different from the two given above. It describes the *sāttvika, rājasika* and *tāmasika* forms of the god.[5] In his *sāttvika* form, the deity is young and joyful, and has fair hair, and beautiful ornaments. He is naked and holds in his two hands a trident and a staff. In his *rājasika* form, the god is smiling and resembles the resplendent sun. He wears the elephant's skin and a garland of blood-red colour. He has four hands, two of which hold trident and skull. The other two hands show the *abhaya* and *varada mudrās*. In the *tāmasika* form, the deity looks

1 K. K. Das Gupta says that "the concept of Ṣiva or Rudra-Ṣiva being associated with a dog is as old as the days of the *Atharvaveda* and the *Yajurveda*" (*Year Book of the Asiatic Society*, 1967, p. 166).

2 Cf. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 177.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 178.

4 N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, p. 133.

5 *Śrīvidyārṇava Tantra* also classifies the images of Vaṭuka-Bhairava into *sāttvika, rājasika* and *tāmasika* forms. Cf. S. S. Sastri, *Iconography of Śrī Vidyārṇava Tantra*.

like a blue mountain. He is naked and is adorned with a skull-garland. He is eight-armed, holding the kettle-drum, goad, sword, lasso, snake, bell and skull. Another hand remains in the *abhaya* pose. The *Śāradātilaka* does not mention the dog in connection with Vaṭuka-Bhairava.

The descriptions of Vaṭuka-Bhairava, given in different texts, do not fully agree with each other, so that the different *dhyānas* of the deity appear to have been prevalent in different parts of the country. Along with the textual references, we should also take into account the extant specimens of Vaṭuka-Bhairava. In his representation, we seldom find all the details given in the texts.

Gopinatha Rao[6] mentions four images of Vaṭuka-Bhairava, one of them hailing from Pattisvaram being naked and holding in his four hands the *śūla, pāśa, ḍamaru* and *kapāla*. He is adorned with a long necklace of small bells, and other ornaments. His *kaṭisūtra* is formed by a snake. He has a terrific look and immediately behind him stands his companion, the dog, also adorned with a number of ornaments.

The Indian Museum specimen is four-armed and ithyphallic holding the *śūla, khaḍga, pāśa* and *kapāla*. He wears a garland of skulls and a pair of sandals. The dog is associated with him. The Museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society also has an image of Vaṭuka-Bhairava of the Indian Museum type. These two images are surrouded by *piśācas*. Vaṭuka-Bhairava of the Madras Museum holds his short dagger with its point downwards. In other respects, it is similar to the other images.

N.K. Bhattasali[7] describes a small clay image of Vaṭuka-Bhairava in the Dacca Museum. "The god has a flabby belly and a long garland of skulls. Flames are coming out from his head. The eyes are round and rolling and the lips are parted in a horrible smile. The god has four arms. The

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 179.
7 *Op. cit.*, p. 134.

upper right hand holds a sword. The other right hand is broken. The upper left hand holds a staff; but as its upper part is broken, we cannot be sure whether it was merely a staff or a trident or a *khaṭvāṅga*. The figure is not naked and does not wear wooden sandals."[1] The absence of the dog is also noteworthy.

J.N. Banerjea remarked that "the particular type of Bhairava usually found in Northern India goes by the name of Baṭuka (youthful) Bhairava."[8] But he has enlisted only one image of this deity in his book on Hindu iconography. The four-armed Vaṭuka-Bhairava, hailing from Varanasi, holds in his hands a sword, a bell, a trident and a severed head. He wears a garland and a girdle of skulls. He is accompanied by a dog.[9] H. Krishna Sastri[10] has described an image of Vāṭuka-Bhairava, coming from Durgi in the Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh, which has similarity to the Varanasi image. The four-armed deity holds a sword, a drum, a trident and a severed head. The dog is as usual present there.

Thus all the extant images of Vaṭuka-Bhairava are four-handed. The eight- or two-armed images, as given in the texts, have not yet been found. He generally holds deadly weapons. But, according to the *Rūpamaṇḍana* and *Sāradātilaka*, one of his hands may be in the *abhaya-mudrā* and, in his *rājasika* form, Vaṭuka-Bhairava may have, according to the *Sāradātilaka*, one hand in the *varada* pose also, which is in conformity with the ideal of the god. The meditation of Vaṭuka-Bhairava is said to bring about fulfilment of all the wishes of the votary.

---

8. J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd ed., p. 466.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 482.

10. H. Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, p. 151.

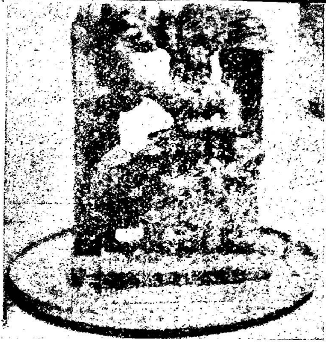
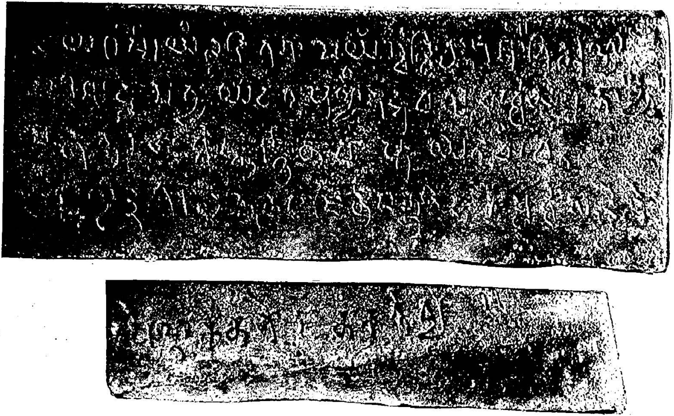


Fig. 1 —Seal bearing Image of Vaṭuka-Bhairava (p. 157)
Fig. 2 —Kūrmūn Image of Indrāṇī (p. 165)



Cleaveland Museum Bronze Buddha Image Inscription of Year 313 (pp. 280-81)

The main iconographic traits of Vaṭuka-Bhairava are present in the seal under discussion. But it does not fully agree either with any of the textual descriptions or with his extant images. Iconographically, it has some novel features. More interesting in this respect is the presence of a female figure by the side of the god. She may be a devotee. But the grotesque look makes it probable that she is a demoness. Association of uncouth attendants with images of this Bhairava is not uncommon.

Vaṭuka-Bhairava's couch represented on the seal may be compared with the couches depicted on the Gupta coins. Of course, it must be admitted that the skilled hand of the master artists of the Gupta court is absent here. It should, however, be remembered that, on the Nalanda seals, which depict a number of seated images, there is not a single piece providing this sort of *āsana* for the deity.[11] The bold relief in which the figures have been depicted, the sense of proportion displayed, and the way in which the space has been utilised indicate that the present seal cannot be placed much later than the Gupta period. Here lies the importance of the seal under study. The extant specimens of Vaṭuka-Bhairava images are not earlier than the 10th century A.D. Therefore, the seal under discussion seems to bear the earliest representation of the god.

11 Cf. H. Sastri, *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material.*

KEDĀRA

SAMARESH BANDYOPADHYAY

In an interesting paper entitled 'Historical Data in the *Kuṭṭanīmata* of Dāmodaragupta' published in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. XLVI, 1968, pp. 357-67, Ajay Mitra Shastri drew our attention to a verse of the *Kuṭṭanīmata* which mentions a coin called *kedāra* and observed that '*kedāra* as a monetary denomination is unknown from any other source'.[1] Later, in another paper on 'Numismatic References in the *Kuṭṭanīmata* of Dāmodaragupta' published in the *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, 1968, pp. 118-21, Shastri, however, noticed the mention of *kedāra* as a coin-name in the *Kāśikā*[2] referred to by D.R. Bhandarkar as early as 1921 in his Carmichael Lectures on *Ancient Indian Numismatics*. Bhandarkar is of the opinion that *kedāra* of the *Kāśikā* is the same as the word *kidāra* written on the obverse of the Kidāra Kuṣāṇa coins, and most probably the coin was so called after the Kidāra Kuṣāṇa dynasty,[3] the existence of which in parts of the Punjab, and Kashmir is proved by the discovery of a large number of coins in pale and much debased gold.[4] The letters *ki(ke ?)-da-ra*

---

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 366.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 120.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 205. S. K. Chakrabortty accepts Bhandarkar's suggestion (*A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 100; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XV, pp. 73-74). Cf. Rapson, *IC*, Pl. II. 16.

4 It is interesting to note that the names read on these coins are all Indian; e.g., Kṛtavīrya, Sarvayaśaḥ, Bhāsvat, Śīlāditya, Prakāśa and Kuśala (J. N. Banerjea in *Comp. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 252; B. N. Puri, *India under the Kushāṇas*, p. 76). According to P. Banerji Ṣato(ta?)mal[l]a is another name which occurs on a coin (*JNSI*, Vol. XV, p. 79). Scholars, however, are not sure about the date of the Kidāra Kuṣāṇas. Bhandarkar places them between 425 and

written perpendicularly to the left of the seated goddess occur on the reverse of the coins bearing the name Toramāṇa and on the coins of Pravarasena and on all the Kārkoṭa coins.[4a] According to Stein, they are certainly copies of the coins of the later Kuṣāṇa rulers of Gandhāra, and are usually believed to contain the name of the founder of the kingdom of the Little Yue-chi called Ki-to-lo in the Chinese Annals.[5] According to V.S. Agrawala, the *Kāśikā's* description of the *kedāra* as stamped is not correct since these coins were cast in moulds and not punched.[6]

In this connection, attention may, however, be drawn to the commentary of Kṣemakīrti (c. 1275 A.D.) on a passage of the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* which states : *kavaḍḍagam-ādi taṁbe ruppe pīte tah=eva kevaḍie.*[7] Kṣemakīrti comments on this passage thus : *kevaḍikā nāma yathā tatr=aiva pūrva-deśe ketar-ābhidhāno nāṇaka-viśeṣaḥ,*[8] i.e., *kevaḍikā*, otherwise known as *ketara*, was a coin current in the eastern region. Kṣemakīrti, thus, has not said anything specific about the metal, value and weight of the *ketara* coin. According to

---

900 A.D. (*loc. cit.*), but V. S. Agrawala in the 3rd-4th century A.D. (*JNSI*, Vol. XV, p. 38). According to J. N. Banerjea (*loc. cit.*) and B. N. Puri (*loc. cit.*), they flourished in the latter part of the fourth or early in the fifth century A.D. Though it is difficult to ascertain exactly the time of the rule of the Kidāra Kuṣāṇa kings, their order of succession and the limits of the territories over which they ruled, the fact that their coins are crude copies of the 'sacrificing king and enthroned Ardochsho' type of the later Kuṣāṇas, as in the case of the 'Gaḍahara' or 'Gaḍakhara' tribe makes it certain that they are to be placed after the later Kuṣāṇa kings.

4a Gopal, *EMCNI*, 1966, pp. 57-59; Pl. I. 1, 5-12; II. 1-4, 6-7.

5 *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Eng. tran. Stein, Vol. II, p. 319; Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, pp. 27 ff., Pl. III. 2-3, 9, 14, 17.

6 *JNSI*, Vol. XV, p. 38.

7 Ed. Punyavijaya, verse 1969; cf. also *JNSI*, Vol. XIV, p. 109.

8 *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*, II, p. 573. Cf. also *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara* (Hindi), Vol. XXI, Part I, p. 11.

V.S. Agrawala[9] and R.C. Agrawala,[10] *ketara* seems to be the same as *kedāra* of the *Kāśikā*. They are further of the opinion that *kedāra* denotes the coins of the Kidāra Kuṣāṇas. But the fact that Kṣemakīrti describes *ketara* as a current-coin of the eastern region makes the identification of *kedāra* with *ketara* difficult; for it has not yet been established that the Kidāra Kuṣāṇas held sway over any part of Eastern India, and that their coins were popular in that area.

9 *JNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 197.

10 *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, *loc. cit.*

INDRĀṆĪ IMAGE FROM KŪRMŪN (BURDWAN DISTRICT)

ABHIJIT GHOSH

Bengal has so far yielded very few images of Indrāṇī, the *śakti* of the god Indra and generally counted as the fifth of the *Sapta-mātṛkā*. An Indrāṇī image, curved on a single slab of stone, was discovered at Paogachha in the Bogra District, East Pakistan, and is now preserved in the Varendra Research Society's Museum at Rajshahi.[1] The Asutosh Museum of the University of Calcutta possesses a terracotta Indrāṇī image of the 16th century discovered along with the other Mātṛkās at Mathbari in the village of Kabirajpur in the Faridpur District also in East Pakistan.

Another single figure of Indrāṇī has been found at the village of Kūrmūn (usually spelt *Coormoon*), 10 miles to the north-east of the Burdwan Railway Station. We propose to describe this image in the following lines.

This black-stone image, measuring 1′ 7″ × 10¼″, is the only Indrāṇī image so far discovered in West Bengal.[2] Both the deity and the mount are treated here in high relief, both having separate volume and mass. Stylistically it belongs to the medieval age; the figure is more or less realistic, and from the proportion of its limbs, we can place it in the 14th century A.D. approximately. The date of this image is later than that of the Paogachha sculpture, but earlier than that of the Kabirajpur terracotta.

---

1 See *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, Plate LXVII. 163.

2 Of the terracottas from Chandraketugarh, noteworthy is an elephant-god, holding on his lap a dwarf woman (*Indian Archaeology*, 1959-60, ed. A. Ghosh, Plate LXV-E). But it is difficult to say whether the woman is Indrāṇī.

The goddess is seated in the *lalit-āsana* posture,[3] known also as *lalit-ākṣepa*, a *sukh-āsana* manner of sitting, in which one of the legs is pendant, while the other is bent.[4] Her right leg is bent and left leg dangling[5] and placed on the hind half of the mount. She has two eyes[6] which are almost closed as in the Paogachha image.[7] In both these cases, her face is like that of a hen's egg (*kukkuṭ-āṇḍavat*).[8] Her nose looks like a parrot's beak (*śuka-cañcuvat*). Realistic is the shape of her breasts and of the mount's legs,[9] also the manner of representing her.

The Kūrmūn image sits on an elephant (*gaj-āsanā*)[10] just as her lord Indra has the elephant as his mount (*matta-vāraṇa-saṁsthita*). Here the mount is standing as in the Kabirajpur image.[11]

---

3 Indrāṇī generally sits in *lalit-āsana* and sometimes in *vajr-āsana* (cf. figure curved on the wall of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple, Bhubaneswar).

4 Sometimes a lotus is curved as her seat (cf. the figure in the Indian Museum, No. 6493-A25214). But there is no lotus here.

5 The reverse is the case in the Paogachha and Kabirajpur images.

6 Generally Indrāṇī has two-eyes (*locana-dvaya-saṁyutā*); but she may have three-eyes (*tri-netrā*). And as Indra has thousand-eyes, she is often described as thousand-eyed (*sahasra-dṛk, sahasra-nayanā*).

7 The application of almost-closed eyes is an early development in Indian iconography, though large eyes (as in the Kabirajpur image) are found in many female figures painted in the Ajanta caves.

8 The Kabirajpur image has her face looking like a betel-leaf (*tāmbula-patravat*).

9 The shape of the mount's legs in the Paogachha image is completely realistic; but in the Kabirajpur image, it is conventional, though the artist has shown much skill in presenting the running posture of the mount.

10 Sometimes two elephants are curved on her two sides. Cf. the sculpture belonging to the Indian Meseum (No. 3938), wherein on each side of the deity is an elephant, with a female riding on it.

11 The Paogachha image has a crouching mount.

Indrāṇī is two-armed.[12] In her right hand, she has the *vajra*[13] (which Indra holds as his weapon;[14] cf. *vajr-otpala-dhara*), and in the other, there is the *aṅkuśa*;[15] cf. *śakti-vajra-dharā*, *vajra-hastā* and *vajr-āṅkuśa-dharā*.[16] The

12 She is generally two-armed, but may have four-arms (*caturbhujā*): cf. the image of the Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple, Purī (wherein the upper left arm and the lower right one are broken); that of the Navamunigumphā, Khaṇḍagiri, Bhubaneswar; that of the Orissa State Museum (wherein the lower right arm is broken); etc. Again the first image of the Indian Museum has eight arms, six of them being broken.

13 Sometimes the *vajra* is accompanied by a shell or some lotus-petals. Cf. the upper right hand of the first image of the Indian Museum.

14 For *vajra* or thunderbolt, see Burgess, *Elura Cave Temple*, p. 12. It has been said, "*Vajra* seems to have been represented in early art in two different ways: one is club-like in appearance, narrow in the middle and wider at both ends (cf. in the upper right hand of Śiva on a coin of Huviṣka) and the other is a double-faced weapon ending in projecting prongs at its both ends." When two thunderbolts are crossed, it is called a *viśva-vajra*. See *Vāstuśāstra*, ed. Sukla, Vol. II, p. 139.

15 "*Aṅkuśa* or the elephant-goad is a weapon consisting of a sharp metal hook attached to a wooden handle." See T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 8.

16 Generally Indrāṇī holds these two weapons; but other objects are also noticed. The second image of the Indian Museum has a *cāmara* (fly-whisk). The first image of the same Museum has a *kalasa* (water vessel of metal or earth, different from the *kamaṇḍalu* or *kuṇḍikā* which is smaller in size and is provided with a projecting pipe for discharging water) in her lower left hand. The Indrāṇī image in the Paraśurāmeśvara temple has it in her right hand, though, according to the *Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa*, it should be in the left hand. The image in the Navamunigumphā has a *kamala* (lotus) in the lower left hand (cf. *utpala-dhāriṇī*; see *vajr-otpala-dhara* in the case of Indra). The images in the Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple and in the Orissa State Museum carry a child in the lower left hand. Sometimes Indrāṇī is said to hold a *sūtra* (cf. c=*ākṣasūtra* and *sutriṇī*). The Paogachha image has nothing in her left hand, though the Kabirajpur image holds an arrow in the right hand and a bow in the left, and this is a later development. Sometimes Indrāṇī's hands are shown in the *abhaya* or protection-offering hand-pose, and *varada* or boon-offering pose of the hand (cf. *abhayaṁ tad-adhaḥ-kare*).

goddess, like Indra (cf. *nān-ābharaṇa-bhūṣita*), is decked with various ornments; cf. *divy-ābharaṇa-bhūṣitā, sarv-ābharaṇa-saṁyuktā, vastr-ālaṅkāra-sampannā*, and *sarv-ābharaṇa-bhūṣitā*. She has a nicely decorated *kirīṭa*[17] on her head (cf. *kirīṭinī*), a pair of *kaṅkaṇas* (bracelets) in each hand, *keyūra* (*bājubandha*, armlet) on the upper portion of both the arms (cf. *hāra-keyūra-bhūṣitā*), a pair of *ratna-kuṇḍalas* (ear-rings) in her ears, two *hāras* (necklaces)—a short one round the neck and the other hanging on the breast, *nūpuras* on the feet, a certain type of ornament round the heel, *kaṭimekhalā* or *kaṭibandha* round her waist and *yajñopavīta* round the upper portion of the body. The mount is also well-adorned.

The Kūrmūn image has a piece of upper garment, the two edges of which are found below the right arm in the right side and above the left shoulder in the left, and a piece of lower garment, decorated with long stripes and going round her waist (cf. *vastr-ālaṅkāra-sampannā*).

On the left side of Indrāṇī, is the standing figure of a female devotee,[18] holding a *chatra* or umhrella (cf. *chatra-cāmara-dhāriṇyaḥ striyaḥ pārśve pradarśayet*).

---

17 *Kirīṭa-mukuṭa* is a conical cap sometimes ending in an ornamental top carrying a central pointed knob. It is covered with jewelled discs in front or on all sides, and has jewelled bands round the top as well as the bottom. The *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* should be worn exclusively by Nārāyaṇa among the gods, by *Sārvabhauma Cakravartins* or emperors and by *adhirājas* or superior governors. For *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* and other details, see Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I. pp. 29-30.

18 Other Indrāṇī images (like Indra described as *Gandharva-gaṇa-saṁyuta*) are also with attendants. The Paogachha image is adorned with two Gandharvas flying above, the first Indian Museum image by fourteen female devotees, *devas* and Gandharvas on all sides and the Orissa State Museum image by a devotee sitting by the mount and other flying Gandharvas, Apsarases and Cāmara-dhāriṇīs. But the Kabirajpur image has no attendant.

Tradition says that the Kūrmūn image was built by the order of king Mahendra of Karṇasuvarṇa; it was lost during the depredations of Kālāpāhāḍ, but was discovered from a tank named Indradīghi. In the Burdwan District, there was the Indrāṇī Pargana which may or may not be associated with the goddess.

There is no writing inscribed on the figure.[19]

APPENDIX

I. Indra

idānīṁ Sura-rājasya rūpaṁ vakṣye viśeṣataḥ ||
sahasra-nayanaṁ devaṁ matta-vāraṇa-saṁsthitaṁ |
pṛth-ūru-vakṣo-vadanaṁ siṁha-skandhaṁ mahābhujaṁ ||
kirīṭa-kuṇḍala-dharaṁ pīvar-oru-bhuj-ekṣaṇaṁ |
vajr-otpala-dharaṁ tad-van=nān-ābharaṇa-bhūṣitaṁ ||
pūjitaṁ deva-gandharvair=apsaro-gaṇa-sevitaṁ |
chatra-cāmara-dhāriṇyaḥ striyaḥ pārśve pradarśayet ||
siṁhāsana-gataṁ c=āpi gandharva-gaṇa-saṁyutaṁ |
Indrāṇīṁ vāmataś=c=āsya kuryād=utpala-dhāriṇīṁ ||

Matsyapurāṇa, 259. 65-69.

II Indrāṇī

Indrāṇīm=Indra-sadṛśīṁ vajra-śūla-gadā-dharāṁ ||
gaj-āsana-gatāṁ devīṁ locanair=bahubhir=vṛtāṁ |
tapta-kāñcana-varṇ-ābhāṁ divy-ābharaṇa-bhūṣitāṁ ||

Ibid., 31-32.

gaj-āsanā c=ākṣasūtraṁ daṇḍaḥ pāśaḥ kamaṇḍaluḥ |
Aindrī devī ca kartavyā cāmuṇḍā pretagā tathā ||

Aparājitapṛcchā quoted in *The Vāstuśāstra*, ed. D. N. Sukla, Vol. II, p. 235.

19 The first image in the Indian Museum has *Śrī-Indrāṇī* inscribed on the pedestal.

catur-bhujā tri-netrā ca rakta-varṇā kirīṭinī |
śakti-vajra-dharā c=aiva varad-ābhaya-pāṇinī ||
sarv-ābharaṇa-saṁyuktā gaja-dhvaja-savāhinī |
Indrāṇī c=eti vikhyātā kalpadruma-samāśritā ||
Aṁśumadbhedāgama, 47th *Paṭala*.

Aindrī sahasra-dṛk saumyā hem-ābhā gaja-saṁsthitā |
varadā sūtriṇī vajraṁ vibhraty=ūrdhvaṁ tu dakṣiṇe ||
vāme tu kalasaṁ (kamalaṁ?) pātram=abhayaṁ tad-adhaḥ-kare ||
Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa, Cal. Sans. Ser., No. XII, ed. N. C. Vedantatirtha, p. 158, Ch. 8|71.

Śākrī virodhināme ca vajra-hastā gaje sthitā ||
surūp=āṅkuśa-hastā ca hāra-keyūra-bhūṣitā |
gaṇa-gandharva-saṁyuktā siddha-cāraṇa-sevitā ||
Aindrī sura-var-ādhyakṣā gaja-rāj-opari sthitā |
vajr-āṅkuśa-dharā devī hāra-keyūra-bhūṣitā ||
Devīpurāṇa, 50. 143-44, 210.

Vajra-hastā gaj-ārūḍhā locana-dvaya-saṁyutā |
vastr-ālaṅkāra-sampannā gajendra-dhvaja-vāhanā ||
varad-ābhaya-śakty-āpta-vāhukendu (bāhuk=Aindrī?) prakīrtitā |
Pūrvakāraṇāgama, 12th *Paṭala*.

Indrāṇī ca I(c=e)ndra-sadṛśī vajra-śūla-gadā-dharā |
gaj-āsana-gatā devī locanair=bahubhir=vṛtā ||
Rūpamaṇḍana, Cal. Sans. Ser., No. XII, ed. N. C. Vedantatirtha, 5.69.

Śakrāṇīṁ Śakravat kuryāc=Cāmuṇḍīm=ugra-rūpiṇīm |
varad-ābhaya-hastās=tu tat-tad-āyudha-dhāriṇyaḥ ||
tat-tad-varṇa-samāyuktā vāhana-dhvaja-saṁyuktāḥ |
caturbhujās=tu sarvāś=ca nalin-āsana-saṁsthitāḥ ||
Suprabhedāgama, 42nd *Paṭala*.

vajrahastā tath=aiv=Aindrī gaja-rāj-opari shtitā |
prāptā sahasra-nayanā yathā Śakras=tath=aiva sā ||
kirīṭini mahāvajre sahasra-nayan-ojjvale |
Vṛtra-prāṇa-hare c=Aindri Nārāyaṇi namo=stu te |
Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, 8. 11 and 19.

Oṁ vajrahastā devī Aindrī gāja-rāj-opari sthitā |
Raktavīja-vadhe devī mahāhave samāgatā ||
tapta-kāñcana-varṇ-ābhā supratiṣṭhā sulocanā |
pūrṇa-yauvana-sampannā sarv-ābharaṇa-bhūṣitā ||
daitya-kṣayakarī devī mahāśakti-samanvitā |
prasanna-vadanā bhadrā sarva-kāma-phala-pradā ||
Dhyānamantra of the Kūrmūn image.*

---

* For the preparation of this article, I am indebted to Dr. Dipak Ranjan Das, P. C. Dasgupta, Amitabha Bhattacharyya, S. K. Pathey (Orissa State Museum), Shyamal Kanti Chakravorty, Hanseswar Ghoshal (Coormoon) and N. N. Ray.

TRANSLATIONS

THE MAHĀBHĀṢYA AND KṚṢṆA-DRAMA

M. Winternitz

[Translated by P. Ghosh from Part I (Das *Mahābhāṣya* und das Kṛṣṇa-drama) of Winternitz' 'Kṛṣṇa-dramen' appearing in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Band 74, Leipzig, 1920, pp. 118 ff.]

People have till now believed to have seen the first sure proofs of the existence of a kind of drama in India in the famous passage, dealing with the Śaubhikas (or Śobhanikas) and Granthikas, in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (on Pāṇini, III. I. 26; Vārttika 15), which was brought to light at first by Albrecht Weber[1] and since then has been quoted very often. It was believed that the Śaubhikas were 'actors' who 'in person' represented on a stage such scenes as 'the chaining of Bali' and 'the killing of Kaṁsa'. The Granthikas, it is believed, were reciters who not only recited the same stories lively, but also were divided for the purpose into two groups, of which one coloured the face red and the other black. Such a dramatic recital would, therefore, no more be far away from a 'drama'. People believed to have seen in the examples quoted from Patañjali a glaring proof in support of the hypothesis, already put forward by Chr. Lassen,[2] that the Indian drama had originated from the cult of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa.

But recently H. Lüders[3] has shown that the passage in

1 *Ind. Stud.*, Vol. 13, 1873, pp. 488 ff.; cf. Bhandarkar, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. III, 1874, pp. 14 ff.

2 *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. II, p. 504, and his *Gītagovinda*, Prolegomena, p. vii; cf. L. von Schroeder, *Indiens Literatur und Kultur*, Leipzig, 1887, pp. 578 ff.

3 'Die Śaubhikas. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des indischen Dramas', *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1916, XXXIII, pp. 714 ff.

the *Mahābhāṣya*, which is indeed very difficult, has till now always been misunderstood. According to him, the passage dealing with the Śaubhikas and Granthikas (*Mahābhāṣya*, ed. Kielhorn, Vol. 2, p. 36) is to be translated in the following way: "What mainly concerns these so-called Śaubhikas is that they describe the killing of Kaṁsa standing before the eyes and the fettering of Bali standing before the eyes. How [is the present tense in *Kaṁsaṃ ghātayati* correct, when the story of the killing of Kaṁsa is being described] with pictures? The swing of arms for striking, the hurling of blows and the dragging of Kaṁsa can also be seen in the pictures. How far [is the use of the present tense in *Kaṁsaṃ ghātayati*, etc., correct] when it deals with the Granthikas (Vorleser) in connection with whom [however] only the relations of words (die Verbindung von Worten) are being observed? In course of discussing the fates of the persons (Kaṁsa, Bali and Vāsudeva), from the beginning to the end, they also let them appear as existing actually in the imagination of the listeners. And on that account [I say]: 'existing actually', because they become evident. One party sides with Kaṁsa, the other with Vāsudeva. They of course show the difference in the colour of the face. The members of one party colour their faces red, the others do it black.

Not only the Śaubhikas but also the Granthikas, according to it, were reciters, and actually the Saubhikas were those who d e s c r i b e d the legends of Viṣṇu and Śiva, etc., with the demonstration of silhouette (Schattenbilder) or of fixed pictures for the purpose of explanation or possibly also with the performances of silent players, while the Granthikas were reciters who recited from books (manuscripts, *grantha*).

A. Hillebrandt[4] rejects the explanation of Śaubhika

4 *ZDMG*, Vol. 72, 1918, pp. 227ff.

as 'shadow-player' and takes it to be—with reference to the commentators—a theatre-director (Spielleiter), differing little or not at all from the *sūtradhāra* or *sthāpaka* on the stage. Therefore, Patañjali had, according to him, actual performances in mind in which case the Saubhikas would have announced to the spectators the content of the coming piece—the killing of Kaṁsa in person. This interpretation is not far removed from the old one regarding the Śaubhikas as actors which Lüders has proved with good reasons to be incorrect. When Patañjali says that the Śaubhikas narrate the killing of Kaṁsa, then it will deal not exactly with the dramatic performances, rather only with recitations. But a theatre-director, "who teaches to interpret the roles", is, however, no reciter. Were the explanation of Hillebrandt correct, then the future tense would be more relevant than the present tense; for the Śaubhika(=Sūtradhāra) would not narrate the killing of Kaṁsa standing in person before the eyes, rather he would only announce that Kaṁsa would be killed.

I cannot wholly follow Lüders' explanation of the passage relating to the Śaubhika, even if I deviate less from him than from Hillebrandt. Lüders has rightly found it striking that, in the words *citreṣu katham*, the pictures and not artists demonstrating them, as in the case of the Śaubhikas and Granthikas, are being spoken of. That is why he rejects the older explanation, according to which *citreṣu* should refer to painters who explain their pictures, and thinks that Patañjali speaks of two types of Śaubhikas, one of whom demonstrated the silhouette and the other showed fixed pictures. According to the translation of Lüders, Patañjali, therefore, presupposes the activity of the Śaubhikas simply as a known fact and only says that they describe the killing of Kaṁsa standing before the eyes. Then it strikes him that there were also the Śaubhikas who showed fixed

pictures and he speaks about them in more detail. We cannot quite follow why he has not referred [firstly] in one word to the Śaubhikas who, according to Lüders, are supposed to be shadow-players (Schattenspieler), [and secondly to the point] how they narrate the killing of Kaṁsa "standing before the eyes", as he has done it in connection with the picture-singers (Bildersaenger) and the Granthikas. That is why I mean that Patañjali speaks not at all about three, rather about two different types of reciters—about picture-singers and Granthikas. And actually I would like to translate: "What mainly concerns the Śaubhikas is that they let Kaṁsa standing before the eyes be killed and let Bali standing before the eyes be chained up, [namely] in pictures. But why? In the pictures also [which they show and explain through their descriptions] one sees how the arms swing before striking, how the blows are effected and how Kaṁsa is being dragged on the floor."

More difficult is the passage dealing with the Granthikas. However, I believe that Lüders assumes a change of the subject, because he refers the words *kecit Kaṁsa-bhaktā bhavanti*, etc., to the listeners whereas the text speaks only about the reciter. Further he means that the partisanship for the angry Kaṁsa from the side of the listeners indeed contradicts the Indian feeling, but he finds it conceivable that "the reciters with assigned roles divide themselves in the groups of Kṛṣṇa and Kaṁsa respectively." That is why he comes back to the old explanation according to which the Granthikas "for the purpose of animating the lectures and for the understanding of the public have painted their faces, actually corresponding to the different *rasas*, here red and black: red, the sign of *raudra-rasa* which corresponds to the character of Kaṁsa, the enemy of Kṛṣṇa; black, the sign of *bhayānaka-rasa* corresponding to the persecuted Kṛṣṇa."

Against this interpretation, Lüders has already cited good reasons: 1. that in the words *yatra śabda-gaḍu-mātraṁ lakṣyate* the meaning of which may always lie hidden in the unfortunate word *gaḍu*, the sense in any case is that the Granthikas describe only with words, whereas it would stand in contradiction if it were said that they divided themselves in two groups marked by different colours of the face; 2. that no reason is in view why Kaṁsa is to be painted red; 3. that the division in two groups and the colouring of the faces would prove nothing in support of the use of the present tense which could, however, be of importance to Patañjali. Hillebrandt took up only the second objection because he refers to the *rasa*-colours. But the passage in the *Bharatīya-Nāṭyaśāstra* (ed. Grosset), VIII. 159-62, which Hillebrandt seems to have in mind, treats not the painting of the colour of the face for the expression of different states of mind. Here it is:

vīra-raudra-mad-ādyeṣu raktaḥ syāt karuṇe tathā |
bhayānake sabībhatse śyāmaṁ saṁjāyate mukham ||

The face of the actor is therefore to become red when the feelings and tempers of heroism, dreadfulness, pride or sympathy are to be expressed, and black when those of fear or disgust are to be shown. I do not think that this passage can at all be referred to here. But if one thinks of the *rasa*-colours as they are enumerated in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (ed. Grosset), VI. 42 f.: *śyāmo bhavati śṛṅgāraḥ...... rakto raudraḥ prakīrtitaḥ......kṛṣṇaś = c = aiva bhayānakaḥ |* then this passage can be applied to our case only with difficulty. The colours are then to correspond to the *rasas*, and not to the characters. And if the red colour be appropriate to the horrible Kaṁsa when he threatens Kṛṣṇa, so the black colour is little suitable to the hero Kṛṣṇa who, according to the legend, does not know fear at all, who destroys all demons and pulls down the evil Kaṁsa from the tribune and kills him.

The change of the subject is striking; but it, however, appears to be justified through *buddhi-viṣayān*; for *buddhi* necessitates a genitive like "of the listeners" as a supplement out of which the new subject results. Also the following sentences: *traikālyaṁ khalv=api loke lakṣyate | gaccha hanyate Kaṁsaḥ*, etc., refer to the conversations among the listeners.

As against that, Hillebrandt's consideration seems to be justified that amongst the public a partisanship for the malicious demon Kaṁsa was found. But why should those who side with Kaṁsa become red in face and those siding with Kṛṣṇa black? We can only imagine that at the moment, when the killing of Kaṁsa by Kṛṣṇa is being described, some of the listeners side with Kaṁsa in so far as Kaṁsa stands before their mind's eye as being pulled down by Kṛṣṇa in the arena, dragged on the floor and killed and, on that account, they become red with scorn. On the other hand, in the imagination of others only Kṛṣṇa is present, for whose life they fear, and they become on that account black with anxiety. It would possibly give a better meaning if, following the Benares edition, we could transpose the words *rakta-mukhāḥ* and *kāla-mukhāḥ*. The meaning would then be: Those listening to the story of the killing of Kaṁsa, siding instinctively with him[5] and having anxiety for him, become black in face, while others, who only think of Kṛṣṇa and imagine in their mind the heroic youth, become on that account—corresponding to the *vīra-rasa*—red.

When difficulties arise in connection with both the views about the passage in the *Mahābhāṣya*, it, however, appears to me that the objections raised by Lüders against the old view are stronger than the reflections raised against the new view.

5 The words *Kaṁsa-bhaktāḥ* and *Vāsudeva-bhaktāḥ* are in no way to be understood here in the sense of actual reverers, disciples or followers.

What therefore Patañjali says is the following : At first he says that a causative is used when an action is described in a story. It is said, for example, about one who describes the chaining of Bali by Viṣṇu or the killing of Kaṁsa by Kṛṣṇa : "He lets Bali to be fastened" or "He lets Kaṁsa to be killed." The grammarian further raises the question as to how one can use in this case the present tense, since already a long time ago Bali had been chained and Kaṁsa killed by Kṛṣṇa. The present tense, he says, is here quite correct. These are, in the first instance, the so-called Śaubhikas who delineate such stories with the help of pictures. In connection with them it is quite clear that one can say that they let Kaṁsa as some one standing before the eyes [in the picture] to be killed. But the present tense is also justified in connection with the Granthikas, the reciters, who, using the books (*grantha*), recite their stories only through the articulation of words.[6] For, while they describe the destiny of their heroes, they produce the effect that the described one is present in the imagination of the listeners. So much is this the case that the listeners even take sides, some with Kaṁsa and the others with Kṛṣṇa. This is manifested in the colours of their faces, because one group becomes red with scorn, the other black with fear. Patañjali adds, "the three times are being well observed in the conversation of the people when one hears words like the following : 'Go, Kaṁsa is being killed', 'Go, Kaṁsa will be killed' ; 'What for am I to go ?', 'Kaṁsa has already been killed'."

From the passage in the *Mahābhāṣya*, it only follows that there had been literary treatments of the legends about the demon-battles of Viṣṇu and about 'the killing of Kaṃsa'[7]

---

6 Could not *śabda-gadana-mātram* be read for *śabda-gaḍu*°? [It is also found as *śabda-grantha-gaḍḍa-mātram*.—Ed.]

7 It is not in the least certain that the whole history of Kṛṣṇa's youth, as the legend tells it as an introduction to the killing of Kaṃsa.

by Kṛṣṇa in the second century B.C., and these were recited before big public gatherings with the exhibition of pictures or with the use of manuscripts, and people willingly came to listen to these recitations. That they had a religious character can well be accepted. For we know from the *Mahābhāṣya* (on Pāṇini, IV. 3.98 f.)[8] that there had been a Kṛṣṇa cult at the time of Patañjali. According to Lüders' views, the Śaubhikas had also performed shadow-plays along with their recitations. Were this view correct, we would have to accept that, in the second century B.C., already a kind of dramatic performances of scenes from the Kṛṣṇa-legends existed. But Lüders must himself admit that the proof cannot be furnished from the *Mahābhāṣya* that the Śaubhikas showed shadow-plays. Nobody will doubt that the Śaubhikas of the *Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra*, the Sobhiyas in the Jātaka-gāthās and the Sobhikas in the *Mahāvastu* are identical with the Śaubhikas of the *Mahābhāṣya*. But none of these passages gives any information about the activities of the artists mentioned. Also the *sobhaṇaka* (if this is the right reading) appearing in the *Brahmajālasutta* (I. 13), which Lüders explains with some probability as a sign of the art of the Sobhiyas, does not let itself be proved (as Lüders himself admits) as shadow-play.

In India shadow-plays are not actually attested before the thirteenth century. In the explanation of the *Mahābhārata* (12. 295. 5), Lüders is inclined, together with Pischel, to follow Nīlakaṇṭha who appears to explain *rūpopajīvana* as "the demonstration of silhouette." In no way is this exaplanation convincing. As Lüders himself admits, other

---

was already known at the time of Patañjali. According to R. G. Bhandarkar (*Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems* [Grundriss III. 6. 1913], p. 35), this is not to be accepted.

8 Here it means that by Vāsudeva in the *sūtra* of *Pāṇini* not the Kṣatriya Vāsudeva rather the god is meant.

examples are just as well possible. Moreover, the passage of the *Mahābhārata* would lead us back to no particularly high antiquity. Doubtful is also the explanation of *rupparūpakaṁ* in the *Therīgāthā* (394), in any case too weak a basis for attributing the shadow-play to the pre-Christian period and for connecting the thirteenth century A.D. to the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali.

If the Śaubhikas of the *Mahābhāṣya* do not let themselves be proved as shadow-players, and if the Granthikas held their recitations not with divided roles and painted faces, as it is till now believed to be, then the possibility of every reference to the *Mahābhāṣya* for the beginnings of the Indian drama dwindles. That is why Patañjali can no more be cited as an evidence in support of the belief that the Indian drama originated from the Kṛṣṇa cult.

It is hardly necessary to dilate any more on the frailty of the unsteady structure of the hypothesis which A. B. Keith[9] has erected in connection with the origin of the Indian drama just on the basis of the *Mahābhāṣya*.

But by this it is not to deny that, inspite of all this, dance-plays could have already existed in the pre-Christian times, in which the life of the hero and shepherd-god Kṛṣṇa was celebrated. The fact,[10] observed long ago, that, among the Prakrit dialects used in the drama, the Śaurasenī, the dialect of Śūrasena or Mathurā, stands in the foreground appears to point to a special relation of dramatic performances to Mathurā, the native land of the Kṛṣṇa cult. On the other hand, it is striking that the poets of the Classical and post-Classical periods have again and again handled the Rāma legend dramatically, whereas the Kṛṣṇa legend was treated in drama for the first time in

9 *ZDMG*, Vol. 64, 1910, pp. 534 ff.; *JRAS*, 1912, pp. 411ff.

10 Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, Vol. 13, p. 491; S. Lévi, *Théatre Indien*, pp 331f.

the 15th and 16th centuries, especially among the disciples of Caitanya.* For we cannot, however, accept the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva as a dramatic work. In the 15th century, the drama (*nāṭikā*) *Vṛṣabhānujā* is said to be composed by Mathurādāsa, which deals with the love of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. Rūpa Gosvāmin, a disciple of Caitanya (16th century) composed the Kṛṣṇa-dramas *Lalitamādhava* (in 10 acts) and *Vidagdhamādhava* (in 7 acts) and the *Bhāṇa* called *Dānakelikaumudī*. In the 16th century, Śeṣakṛṣṇa, a contemporary of the emperor Akbar, composed a seven-act drama, *Kaṁsavadha*, which deals with the killing of Kaṁsa by Kṛṣṇa and the previous events according to the 10th book of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. A philosophical-allegorical Kṛṣṇa-drama is the *Caitanyacandrodaya* of the Bengali Kavikarṇapūra who was born in 1524. A peculiar but also completely modern drama is the *Bhāṇa* called *Mukundānanda* by Kāśīpati Kavirāja, in which Kṛṣṇa hardly differentiates himself from the *viṭas* as they appear in the other *Bhāṇas*.

Under these conditions, it is in any case very important that the poet *Bhāsa* composed not only two Rāma-dramas (*Abhiṣeka-nāṭaka* and *Pratimā-nāṭaka*), but also a Kṛṣṇa-drama (*Bālacarita*).

* [The popularity of Kṛṣṇa-plays before Caitanya (1486-1533 A.D.) is indicated by Kṛṣṇa-dramas in the regional languages, e.g., those by Śaṅkaradeva (born c. 1449 A.D.) of Assam. Rāmānandarāya wrote his *Jagannāthavallabha-nāṭakam* before his contact with Caitanya.—Ed.]

HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA

(Introductory Portion)

LAMA TĀRANĀTHA

[The Tibetan original was translated by Harināth De in *The Herald*, January and February, 1911. This has been communicated to us by Sri Sunil Bandyopadhyay.]*

---

*[Besides the fame of Harināth De (1877-1911) as a marvellous polyglot, his countrymen know very little about him. That is due primarily to Harināth's premature death at the age of thirtyfour and to the fact that his published writings are meagre and of an esoteric nature. There is no authentic biography of Harināth, which can do justice to his extraordinary scholastic achievement.

This doyen of Indological studies in India is easily amongst the pioneers of Indic studies. This aspect of Harināth's career is, however, largely overlooked, although in his lifetime Harināth had impressed, and was held in high esteem by, the then reputed Indologists of international standing. An inspired scholar himself, Harināth grew around him a coterie of friends which included such researchers in the field of Indology as Sōgen Yamakami, Ernst Theodor Bloch, E. Denison Ross, Dharmananda Kosambi, Abdullah-al-Mammun Suhrawardy, Auguste Fortier and others.

It was in his last official position as Librarian, Imperial Library, Calcutta, that Harināth, the savant, found a congenial playground for nurturing his scholasticism of a multi-lingual dimension. Among the work Harināth did, in part or in full, mostly during the tenure of his service as Librarian, he edited two important texts of Buddhist philosophy, namely, *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* and *Nirvāṇavyākhyānaśāstra*, under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the *Tārīkh-i-Nuṣratjangi*, an account of Dacca written by Nusrat Jang, Nawab of Dacca; he also edited, with commentaries in French, *Memoire de M. Jean Law*, and translated Kālidāsa's *Ṣakuntalā* with an introduction and Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* with four unpublished and one published commentaries; he undertook the compilation of an *Arabic Grammar*, a *Sanskrit Grammar* and an *English-Persian Vocabulary*.

The celebrated Tibetan historian Lama Tāranātha was born in 1573 A.D., and was called "Kun-*d*gah *s*Ñyin-po" or The Essence of Happiness. His *History of Buddhism in India* was completed in 1608 A.D. and certainly occupies considerable historical weight. The main

Om. Svasti Prajābhyaḥ.

"The Desired Treasure of the Necessitous or a Clear Exposition of the Manner and the Way in which the Gem of the Excellent Doctrine, which is Prosperity's Source adorned with brilliant Good Fortune, was propagated in in the Ārya Land."

Reverence be to [the] Buddha, to his sons and to his disciples. I bow to the Lord of the Munis, to the Lord of the Clouds, who having emerged from the domain of Existence on the path of the Gods, wears the rainbow of characteristics and signs and pours down the gentle nectareous rain of *Karma.*

Here also scholars of annals and early history, when they endeavour to bring into unison the various histories of the Ārya Land, are stuck with the cause of their defect, seeing that their cleverness stops short, and their case becom s similar to that of a pauper when abundant stores are placed before his eyes.

Moreover, it is because I had myself noticed many gross mistakes in some scholars' expositions of the sources of the Doctrine, that this chain of histories, having for its object the removal of error, has been put together by me in a brief compass for the use of others.

---

orientation of his work is meant to be an assessment of the whole epoch from the time of king Ajātaśatru to that of the Sena king of Bengal with special reference to Buddhist teachers, doctrines and organizations.

In this translation, Harināth followed Anton Schiefner's Tibetan text published in 1868 at St. Petersburg under the title *Taranathae de Doctrinae Buddhicae in India Propagatione.* In connection with this translation Harināth wrote : "Very great help has been derived from Wassilief's Russian and Schiefner's German versions of the work. Wherever I have had occasion to differ from these great scholars, I have indicated my reasons in a footnote."* —Sunil Bandyopadhyay]

* [There is no such foot-note in the portion communicated to us. —Ed.]

The principal things contained herein are as follows :—

I. Of the race of king "Virtue-seer" (Schiefner conjectures *Kṣemadarśin*), there are four :—

(a) Subāhu ; (b) Sudhenu ; (c) Mahendra ; and (d) Camasa.

II. Of the race of Aśoka are four :—

(a) Vigataśoka ; (b) Vīrasena ; (c) Nanda ; and (d) Mahāpadma.

III. From the race of *Candra* came : —

(a) Haricandra ; (b) Akṣatacandra ; (c) Jayacandra ; (d) Nemacandra ; (e) Phaṇicandra ; (f) Vaṁśacandra ; and (g) Śālacandra.

Then came—(h) Candragupta ; (i) Bindusāra ; and the latter's nephew (j) Śrīcandra.

Besides these three are (k) Dharmacandra ; (l) Karmacandra ; (m) Vṛkṣacandra ; (n) Vigamacandra ; (o) Kāmacandra ; (p) Siṁhacandra ; (q) Bālacandra ; (r) Govicandra ; and (s) Lalitacandra.

If we omit Bindusāra, we shall find nineteen (?—Ed.) kings with names ending in *candra*, out of whom Akṣatacandra, Jayacandra, Dharmacandra, Karmacandra [..., ...—Ed.] and Vimalacandra are known as 'the Seven Moons' (*Sapta-candrāḥ*); and with the addition of Candragupta, Govicandra and Lalitacandra, they constitute the well-known 'Decade of Moons' (*Daśa-candrāḥ*).

IV. From the Pāla race are descended fourteen, *viz.* :—

(a) Gopāla ; (b) Devapāla ; (c) Rāsapāla ; (d) Dharmapāla ; (e) Mahīpāla ; (f) Mahāpāla ; (g) Śreṣṭhapāla ; (h) Bheyapāla ; (i) Neyapāla ; (j) Āmrapāla ; (k) Hastipāla ; (l) Rāmapāla ; and (m) Yakṣapāla.

V. The following kings stand alone, each by himself :—

(a) Kaniṣka ; (b) Lakṣāśva ; (c) Candrapāla ; (d) Śrīharṣa ; (e) Śīla ; (f) Udayana ; (g) Gauḍavardhana ; (h) Kaniṣka ; (i) Turuṣka ; (j) Śākamahāsammata ;

(k) Buddhapakṣa ; (l) Gambhīrapakṣa ; (m) Cala ; (n) Caladhruva ; (o) Viṣṇu ; (p) Siṁha ; (q) Bharṣa ; (r) Pañcamasiṁha ; (s) Prasanna ; (t) Prāditya ; (u) Mahāsena ; and (v) Mahāśākyabala.

VI. In the Pāla dynasty, the following stand, each by himself :—

(a) Masurakṣita ; (b) Caṇaka ; (c) Śāmupāla ; [and] (d) Kṣāntipāla.

VII. The four Senas are :—

(a) Lavasena ; (b) Kāśasena ; (c) Maṇisena ; [and] (d) Rathikasena.

VIII. There arose at Kāñcī and in the other kingdoms of the South :—

(a) Śukla ; (b) Candraśobha ; (c) Śālivāhana ; (d) Maheśa ; (e) Kṣemaṁkara ; (f) Manoratha (g) Bhagasubala ; (h) Candrasena ; (i) Kṣemaṅkarasiṁha ; (j) Vyāghra ; (k) Buddhaśuca ; (l) Ṣaṇmukha ; (m) Sāgara ; (n) Vikrama ; (o) Ujjana ; (p) Śreṣṭha ; (q) Mahendra ; (r) Devarāja ; (s) Viśva ; (t) Śiśu ; [and] (u) Pratāpa.

IX. In the South arose also the folowing Brāhmaṇas :—

(a) Balamitra , (b) Nāgaketu ; (c) Vardhamāla ; (d) Gaggari ; (e) Kumārananda ; (f) Matikumāra ; (g) Bhadrānanda ; (h) Dānabhadra ; (i) Laṅkādeva ; (j) Bahubhuk ; [and] (k) Madhyamati, all of whom are known as the Ancient (*Purāṇa*) *Mahācāryāḥ*.

Generally speaking, the disciples of the Victorious One (Buddha) are reckoned to be seven ; but if Madhyāntika be added, their number becomes eight. The following are the Arhats called "Protectors of Law" (*Dharma-rakṣakāḥ*). :—

(a) Uttara, (b) Yaśah ; (c) Poṣada ; (d) Kaśyapa ; (e) Śānavāsa ; (f) Mahāloma ; (g) Mahātyāga ; (h) Nandin ; (i) Dharmaśreṣṭha ; (j) Pārśvika ; (k) Aśvagupta ; [and] (l) Nanda.

The Schools of the great *Bhadantas* (i.e. teachers of the Hīnayāna) are :—

(a) Uttara ; (b) Kaśyapa ; (c) Sammitīya ; (d) Mahīśāsaka ; (e) Dharmagupta ; (f) Suvarṣa ; (g) Vātsīputrīya ; (h) Tāmraśatīya ; (i) Bahuśrutīya ; (j) Āvantaka ; (k) Jetavanīya ; (l) Sthavira ; (m) Dharmatrāta ; (n) Vasubandhu ; (o) Ghoṣaka ; (p) Śrīlābha ; (q) Buddhadeva ; (r) Kumāralābha ; (s) Vāmana ; (t) Kuṇāla ; (u) Śaṁkara ; (v) Saṅghavardhana ; [and] (w) Sambhūti.

The great Brāhmaṇas who did much for the Good Doctrine are :—

(a) Jaya ; (b) Sujaya ; (c) Kalyāṇa ; (d) Siddha ; (e) Adarpa ; (f) Rāghava ; (g) Yaśika ; (h) Pāṇini ; (i) Kuśala ; (j) Bhadra ; (k) Vararuci ; (l) Kulika ; (m) Mudgaragomin ; (n) Śaṅkara ; (o) Dhārmika ; (p) Mahāvīrya ; (q) Suviṣṇu ; (r) Madhu ; (s) Supramadhu ; (t) Vararuci, the second ; (u) Kāśījāta ; (v) Caṇaka ; (w) Vasunetra ; (x) Śaṅku ; (y) Bṛhaspati ; (z) Makṣika ; (aa) Vasunāga ; (bb) Bhadrapālita ; (cc) Pūrṇa ; [and] (dd) Pūrṇabhadra.

From this list the Teachers of the Mahāyāna Doctrine have been omitted, because they are generally very well known. They will, however, be referred to in the course of this history. The 'Six Jewels of Jambudvīpa' are also very famous, the first four of which are the so-called 'Four Great Ones', *viz*., Sūra, Rāhula, Guṇaprabha [and] Dharmapāla, the remaining two being Śāntideva and Candragomin, both possessed of miraculous powers and praised by the learned. In India the characterisation of these two by the title of 'Pre-eminent Ones' is unknown, this title as well as that of 'Six Jewels' having arisen in Tibet.

The Tantr-ācāryas of Vikramaśilā are the following twelve (?—Ed.) :—

(a) Jānapāda (?—Ed.) ; (b) Dīpaṅkarabhadra ; (c) Laṅkājayabhadra ; (d) Śrīdhara ; (e) Bhāvabhadra ; (f) Bhavyakīrti ; (g) Līlāvajra ; (h) Durjayacandra ; (i) Samayavajra ; (j) Tathāgatarakṣita ; [and] (k) Kamalarakṣita.

Then come the six Pandits known as the 'Guardians of the Gate' (*Dvārarakṣakāḥ*), and other *Ācāryas* of the Mystic Lore.

If the facts given above be carefully borne in mind, there will be no difficulty in understanding, or interpreting, the historical exposition which follows, inasmuch as all intricacy has been removed therefrom.

As the genealogies of kings who preceded the advent of our Teacher, the perfectly illumined Buddha, can be obtained in a credible form from the *Vinayapiṭaka* [and] the *Abhiniṣkramaṇa Sūtra* and to some extent from the *Lalitavistara* in accordance with the respective subject matter of each, it has been thought proper to refrain from drawing upon the works of non-Buddhistic writers for an account of the lines of kings, *ṛṣis*, etc., who lived in [the] Satya, Tretā, Dvāpara [—Ed.] and Kali ages, however great; their possessing no bearing on the 'History of the Excellent Law' detracts from their utility to a project of such great piety as this work [of ours] is.

As regards the works of their teachers, let it be known that the *Mahābhārata* contains more than one lakh of *ślokas*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* of just one lakh of *ślokas*, the 18 Purāṇas of many lakhs of *ślokas*, the *Raghuvaṁśa* of eighty thousand (?) *ślokas*, etc. In the present work, we have confined ourselves exclusively to a historical account of such matters as are in some way or other connected with the Doctrine of our Teacher.

I THE AGE OF KING AJĀTAŚATRU

When the sayings of the Supremely Enlightened Master were for the first time put together in a collected form, the gods praised the undertaking; in the world of men plenty and prosperity spread everywhere; and gods and men lived in peace. King Virtue-seer (*m*T'on-*l*Dan- *d*Ge-

ba = ?Kṣemadarśin), whose other name was Ajātaśatru, increased his merit by his character and, without fighting, brought under his sway the Five Cities with the exception of that of the Vṛjis (Tibetan—*s*Ponbyed) when Tathāgata and the Aiodel (?—Ed.) Pair (Tibetan—*m*Chog-*s*Byor-ba = Skt. Varayojana, *i.e.* Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana) together with 168,000 Arhats had gone to their rest and when subsequently Mahākaśyapa also disappeared from existence, all human beings were sorely grieved. The Bhikṣus, who had seen the countenance of the Master, simple-minded folks as they were, felt sorry that through their remissness they had not attained distinction in the life-time of [the] Buddha; and they strenuously devoted themselves to the Good Law. Likewise too, those who studied the Noble Doctrine, viz., young Bhikṣus who had not seen [the] Buddha's countenance said to themselves: "Not having seen the Master face to face, we shall not be able to preach the Law unless we occupy oursleves with the Doctrine," and, wandering about, they devoted all their energies to the Dharma, so that day by day the number of those who attained the four fruits (*viz.*, of *Srotāpatti*, *Sakṛdāgāmin*, *Anāgāmin* and *Arhat*) began greatly to increase. And when the Venerable Ānanda had delivered from time to time the Doctrine to the four classes of the attendants of [the] Buddha's followers, when those who had mastered the Tripiṭaka began to preach the Law and all who had entered the Order began to live in retirement. (?—Ed.) The Master entrusted to Mahākaśyapa the duty of teaching, who again handed it down to the most pious Ānanda. Kings and householders,—kings of unfathomable virtue, being seized with a misgiving since [the] Buddha was no longer in their midst, regretting also that formerly they could meet the Master face to face, but that latterly they saw only his disciples and the attendants of these, learnt at last to appreciate the excellence of [the] Buddha, the Law and the Community, showed due

reverence to the Three Jewels and devoted themselves to the practice of virtue. There was no contention [in the world] and in this manner forty years are said to have rolled away. Fifteen years after Ānanda's assumption of the duty of teaching, a youth named Kanakavarṇa attained Arhatship. An account of him is given in the *Kanakavarṇāvadāna*. At this time, king Ajātaśatru, seeing that the Venerable Ānanda had made Kanakavarṇa an Arhat without hindrance or difficulty, realised in his mind that the Venerable Ānanda was a Buddha-like Śrāvaka, whereupon he placed him over 5,000 Bhikṣus whom he supplied with all necessaries for full five years. At that time there came to Magadha from the city of Kimilamala in the south, a great expert in magical arts named Bharadvāja, a descendant from the race of Jambāla, who began to challenge the Bhikṣus in *ṛddhi* (magical power). Before the very eyes of king Ajātaśatru and other spectators he conjured up into existence four hillocks which were respectively of Gold, Silver, Crystal and Chrysolite (*vaidūrya*). On each of these hillocks were four gardens and on each garden four lotus-tanks filled with all sorts of birds. Thereupon the Venerable Ānanda too conjured up into existence a large number of wild and untameable elephants who ate up the lotuses and spoilt the tanks. He next called up into existence a violent gust of wind which laid low the trees and also a shower of rain accompanied with thunder which destroyed, without leaving a single trace, all the gardens and hillocks. After this, Ānanda showed five-hundred bodily forms, some of which emitted light, others showered rain, others again assumed upon the wind fourfold attitudes [of sitting, lying, standing and walking], while the remaining sent forth fire from the upper part of their bodies, and let flow water from the lower parts. After the phantoms had exhibited these and various other magical performances, they were taken back by Ānanda into his own body.

Thereupon Ānanda preached for a week the Law to Bharadvāja, the descendant of Jambāla, and to others who had already embraced the faith, and converted to Truth, Bharadvāja with five hundred Brāhmaṇas and 8,000 men of other castes.

At a subsequent period when the venerable Ānanda was sojourning at Jetavana, the householder Śānavāsika hospitably entertained the members of the Order for full five years, and eventually through the preaching of the Venerable Ānanda he became in course of time a master of the Tripiṭaka and attained complete salvation as soon as he reached the second stage, i.e. of the *Sakṛdāgāmin*, of Arhatship.

In this manner, after raising to Arhatship sooner or later ten thousand Bhikṣus, Ānanda, in order to let both the Licchavis of Vaiśālī and king Ajātaśatru have a share of his body-relics, repaired to the Ganges which flows through the lands of both of them, and when 500 Ṛṣis wanted to take ordination, he made an island in the middle of the river. As through his magical power he ordained and raised to Arhatship in a single hour the 500 Bhikṣus who had assembled there, these latter came to be known as 'Midday-Men' (Skt. *Madhyāhnikāḥ*) or 'Mid-Water-Men' (Skt. *Madhyāntikāḥ*).

The most prominent of these is known as the 'Great Midday-Man' (*Mahāmadhyāhnika*) or the 'Great Mid-Water-Man' (*Mahāmadhyāntika*). When Ānanda departed from this life, his corpse was consumed by a fire which arose of itself and his ashes, like a ball of precious stone, fell into five separate heaps, each of which the waves carried to either banks.

The heap which was carried to the northern bank was taken possession of by the inhabitants of Vaiśālī, [and] that which was carried to the southern, by Ajātaśatru. In both the countries Stūpas were raised over the ashes.

Thus Ānanda discharged a teacher's function for forty

years. Ajātaśatru also died a year after his death and was forthwith reborn in hell; but when his existence in hell came to an end, he was again born among gods and after hearing the Good Law preached in the house of Śānavāsika he attained the stage of *srotāpanna.*

II. EVENTS OF THE AGE OF KING SUDHANU (SUBĀHU ?—Ed.)

Ajātaśatru's son Subāhu reigned for ten years. He respected the Doctrine of [the] Buddha. When the Venerable Śānavāsika held for a brief period the position of Teacher, the Venerable Madhyāntika was sojourning at Benares where he preached the Law to the four classes of attendants and to Brāhmaṇas and householders. At another time the Brāhmaṇas and householders of Benares took objection to the crowd of begging Bhikṣus and rebuked them, saying, "Is there no other place for begging alms? Are there no cities as prosperous as Benares? While we are compelled to feed and clothe you, you do not make the slightest return unto us." When they spoke these words forth flew the Venerable Madhyāntika accompanied by ten thousand Arhats through the air to Mt. Uśīra which is situated in the north. There a householder named Aja assembled the monks of the four countries and entertained them for a whole year, so that there were together in one and the same place 44,000. This circumstance contributed to the spread of the Doctrine chiefly in the North. Thus the Venerable Madhyāntika preached the Law for three years on Mt. Uśīra. At that time Śānavāsika was sojourning at Śrāvasti, and, as he preached the Law to the four classes of attendants, there arose nearly one thousand Arhats.

At an earlier period there lived in the reign of king Ajātaśatru two men belonging to the Brāhmaṇical caste ignorant of the Law, bold, bad men, who ignored the difference between lawful and unlawful food, and killed many living creatures. Their names were Pana and Napa.

In consequence of thefts committed by them in a number of houses, king Ajātaśatru ordered their hands to be cut off, whereat they were very angry. They gave mid-day meal to many an Arhat and, in return for this virtuous act, desired to become Yakṣas in order to be able to destroy the king and the inhabitants of Magadha. After some time both were seized with an epidemic, died and were reborn as Yakṣas. About (After ?—Ed.) seven or eight years, when king Subadhu (Subāhu ?—Ed.) was on the throne of Magadha, these two were appointed by him to the post of Yakṣas and they sent forth upon the country a terrible plague. Men and cattle died in large numbers and the epidemic could not be checked. The astrologers being apprised of the occurrence, the inhabitants of Magadha on their advice invited the Venerable Śānavāsika over from Śrāvasti and entreated him to chain the Yakṣas. Śānavāsika went forth, accordingly, to Mt. Gurva where the Yakṣas had their dwelling and entered their cave. But these, in the meanwhile, had gone to the abodes of other Yakṣas, whence they were called back to their dwelling by another Yakṣa. On their return home, they became very angry and began to hurl about the rocks of the cavern whereupon there arose another cavern in which they saw the Venerable Śānavāsika duly seated. When this happened three times, the two Yakṣas created a conflagration, which was answered by the Arhat's creating counter-conflagration of a more terrible form which spread over the ten directions. Thereupon the Yakṣas were frightened and were forced to flee. As the whole country was on fire, they found no place of refuge and were forced to seek protection from Śānavāsika, whereat the conflagration ceased. Then, when they heard the Doctrine, they became filled with great piety, took refuge with the Three Jewels and were initiated into the Dogmas. Immediately after that the epidemic came to a stop. This display of magical power was witnessed by a thousand Brāhmaṇas and householders.

IV

Girnar Inscription of the Reign of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman

The results, obtained from the examination of Hariṣeṇa's *praśasti*, point to the provisional supposition that the *kāvya* literature was in bloom, at least in the whole of the fourth century, and the works, composed at that time, do not essentially differ from the samples of Vaidarbhī *rīti* preserved for us. Beyond this, we cannot go with the help of the Gupta inscriptions known to us up to this time. It, therefore, becomes necessary to consider the only great Sanskrit inscription, which can, with certainty, be placed in a considerably earlier age. It is Rudradāman's inscription on the well-known rock on the way from Junāgaṛh-Girinagara to the present Girnār, a holy mountain known as Urjayat or Ujjayanta in earlier times. This inscription would be more properly called 'the *praśasti* of the restoration of the Sudarśana lake, during the reign of *Mahākṣatrapa* Rudradāman.' Its age is pretty certainly fixed, in the first place, by the name of the king and *Kṣatrapa** Caṣṭana, who is spoken of as Rudradāman's grandfather, and in the second place, by the date of the storm which shattered down the embankment of the Sudarśana lake. Caṣṭana is no doubt rightly identified with king Tiastanes who, as Ptolemy informs us, ruled in Ozéné or Ujjayinī. The Greek name quite corresponds with the Indian name, not merely on the ground of other similar cases which occur and in which the Indian palatal sounds are represented by the Greek dentals with *ia* following,[1] but because even the Indian pronunciation of the palatals varies between *tśa* and *tya* as well as between *dza* and *dya*, and we frequently hear of

* [*Mahākṣatrapa*.—D.C.S.]

1 Cf. Tiatoura=Citoḍa and Diamouna=Jamunā (Yamunā).

tya and *dya* as combinations with the sibilants.[2] The possibility that Ptolemy could have meant any other Caṣṭana than that of our inscription must be regarded as out of question, because the name occurs in no other dynasty, and even amongst the Western Kṣatrapas, it is only the grandfather of Rudradāman, who is so named. Thus, if we accept this identification of names and persons, it follows that Caṣṭana must have reigned before 150 A.D. and further that his grandson Rudradāman can, in no case, be placed later than in the first half of the third century, probably even earlier. The settling of the date becomes even more accurate through the fact that the fixing of the beginning of the Gupta era in the year 318 or 319 makes quite probable the view already maintained by Bhagvānlāl, Bhāū Dājī, Bhaṇḍārkar and others, according to which the date of the inscription in question, i.e. the year 72, refers to the Śaka era and thus corresponds to our year 151 A.D. This date is the first of a long series, which continues down to the year 310. Inscriptions[3] provide the following dates—103 for Rudradāman's son Rudrasiṁha, 127 for Rudrasiṁha's son Rudrasena, and 252 for *Svāmī* Rudrasena,

2 See the remarks on the reverse of the table of letters in my *Guide to the Elementary Course of Sanskrit*. I shall, in another place, furnish proof that the modern pronunciation of the Indian palatals is very old.

3 The three dated inscriptions are—that on the rock of Gunda (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 157), that on the pillar of Jasdan (*Journ. Bomb. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 234 ff.), in which, according to an impression of Dhruva's, the date is to be read as [*tri*]*yuttaraśate* 100(+) 3, and one unpublished inscription on a pillar in Okhāmaṇḍal, of which I possess a sketch and a photograph. The view that the era used by the Western Kṣatrapas is the Śaka era, is found at first in *Journ. Bomb. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 243 ff., and is further developed in Bhaṇḍārkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, pp. 19 ff. See also *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, N.S., 1890, pp. 639 ff. I opposed the same in *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 73, when I believed that the beginning of the Gupta era fell in the second century A.D,

while on the numerous coins are frequently represented almost all the decades between 100 and 310. During this long period, the successors of Caṣṭana appear to have maintained their sovereignty over Western India, except for a short interruption and to have been in possession of Mālwā as well as the neighbouring provinces of Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwāṛ. There is nothing in the inscriptions before us, that would admit the conclusion that their capital was ever removed from Ujjain further westwards. On the other hand, our inscription shows quite clearly that the residence of the prince lay outside of Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwāṛ, as his officer Suviśākha, according to line 18, was governor of Ānarta[4] and Surāṣṭra. The successors of the Kṣatrapas, in the sovereignty over Mālwā and the whole of Western India, were the Guptas, whose conquest of the former province falls before or in the Gupta year 82, i.e. 400-01 or 401-02 A.D., as is shown by Fleet's No. 3. Accordingly, it is to be expected that the last date of the Kṣatrapas coming from Caṣṭana's race cannot lie far removed from the Gupta year 82. And this is actually the case, if the year 310 on the Kṣatrapa coins is interpreted as a year of the Śaka era. Then it corresponds to the year 388 or 389 A.D., and is removed only by eleven years from the year in which the conquest of Mālwā could have taken place at the latest. Though this very consideration is enough to commend the identification of the era, used by the Kṣatrapas, with that of the Śaka kings, there are still many other reasons of no less importance, which would confirm the same. The titles of Caṣṭana are *Rājan*, *Kṣatrapa* or *Mahākṣatrapa*, and *Svāmin*. The word *Kṣatrapa* is no doubt, as was long ago asserted, an adaptation of the Persian *Kshatrapa*,[5] 'Satrap'.

4 Ānarta included Northern Kāṭhiāwāṛ and Northern Gujarāt up to the Mahī.

5 [Old Persian *Khshathrapāvan*.—D.C.S.]

Because, although we can look upon the term as a pure Sanskrit word and translate it as 'the protector of Kṣatriyas', still such a title is entirely unknown to Sanskrit literature. *Kṣatrapa* and its Prakrit substitute *chatrapa* or *khatrapa* occur, in the first place, in the coins and inscriptions of barbarous kings and their governors, who ruled over North-Western India.[6] Even Caṣṭana as well as his father, the *Mahākṣatrapa* Ysamotika,[7] were foreigners, and there is no reason why we should believe that the title was fixed upon them in a different sense. If Caṣṭana bears the title of *Rājan* also, well, it might have been conferred upon him only as a mark of distinction for some special service. In a similar manner, the vassals styled *Sāmanta* or *Mahāsāmanta* as well as other high dignitaries received the title *Mahārāja*[8] in the fifth, sixth and later centuries. Caṣṭana's suzerain could have been just one of the Indo-Scythian kings whose might had overshadowed the whole of North-Western and Western India, towards the close of the first century and in the second century, as is shown by the inscriptions and the accounts of the Greeks : and a still clearer proof of his connection with the North-West is provided by his coins, wherein his name is given in the Bactro-Pali or rather Kharoṣṭrī[9] alphabet which is written from right to left. It is very probable that the descendants and immediate successors of Caṣṭana bore the same relation to the rulers of

6 Notice specially the copper-plate on which *Chatrapa* Liaka Kusuluka appears by the side of the king Moga. In this case, it is quite clear that Liaka was the Satrap of Moga.

7 See *Journ. Bomb. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. VIII, p. 3. A very nicely preserved coin on which this name is very clearly readable, was shown to me, some years ago, by Burgess. Bhagvānlāl reads the name as Ghsamotika. [Ghsāmotika was never a *Mahākṣatrapa*.—D.C.S.]

8 See Fleet, *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 15, note.

9 See Terrien de la Conperie, *Babylonian Record*, Vol. I, p. 60. Bhagvānlāl (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 258) has rightly recognized the historical significance of the use of this alphabet on Caṣṭana's coins.

the Indo-Scythian kingdom as long as it was in existence. As for Rudradāman, in particular, I see a clear confession of his dependence in the expression (line 15) *svayam-adhigata-Mahākṣatrapa-śabdena*,[10] 'by [Rudradāman] who had himself won the title *Mahākṣatrapa*'. According to my view,[11] the author means to say that Rudradāman did not inherit the title *Mahākṣatrapa* from his father or grandfather (although they possessed it), but that he had to win it by means of his special services and that he received it from his suzerain. To this interpretation, I am specially led by the meaning of the very analogous phrase, *samadhigatapañca-mahāśabda*, 'he who has won the five *mahāśabdas* (i.e., either five great titles, or the right to have the royal music-band to play)', which is used in a very large number of inscriptions of *Sāmantas* or vassal chiefs. Moreover, even supposing that Rudradāman had made himself independent and had himself taken a title, it appears to me improbable that he should have chosen the title *Mahākṣatrapa*. In that case, he would have certainly named himself *Mahārāja*, *Rājarāja*, *Rājātirāja*, or *Rājādhirāja*, as the independent kings of the first and second centuries always did. Thus Caṣṭana, in all probability was a dependent of some Indo-Scythian king, and it is, therefore, not possible that he should have founded a new era. He must have used the era of his suzerain, and the same must be supposed in connection with his grandson. If then, as I believe it must be assumed, this latter also bore the same relation to the Indo-Scythians, there can be no doubt regarding the interpretation of the date of the Girnār *praśasti*.

According to this calculation, then, the destruction of the Sudarśana lake by the storm mentioned in our inscription

10 [Read *nāmnā* for *śabdena*.—D.C.S.]

11 Bhagvānlāl thinks otherwise. According to him, the idea is that Rudradāman freed himself from the yoke of a suzerain.

falls in the year 150 or 151 A.D. The inscription itself, however, must have been written yet later, sometime towards the end of the first century of the Śaka era, i.e. between 160 and 170 A.D., because it is said in lines 17-18 that the restoration of the dam was attended with great difficulties. Thus it is most conclusively proved that even during the second half of the second century, there was in existence a *kāvya* literature. Although a colophon which might have given us the exact character of the composition is wanting, still it can be easily seen that it contains a *gadya-kāvya* as such. Its style is similar to that of the prose part of Hariṣeṇa's *kāvya* in many respects and, besides the use of *alaṅkāras*, there is an obvious effort on the part of the poet, to satisfy all the requirements prescribed for prose composition by poetics. At the same time, however, it cannot be denied that its worth is very considerably less than that of the Allahābād *praśasti*, and that its author did not by far possess the imagination and talent of Hariṣeṇa. The language itself which is, indeed, generally speaking, flowing and good shows several deviations from the usage of Classical poets and even presents some actual mistakes. Thus in ...*no ā garbhāt* (line 9) there is a wrong *sandhi* made. Among other offences against the rules of orthography prescribed by grammar are the frequent omission of *c* before *ch* and the use of the *anusvāra* for *ñ* and *n* in the body of words, as well as for *m* at the end,[12] though both these, it is true, are sanctioned by usage. Further, there is seen the influence of Prakrit in the word *viśaduttarāṇi* (line 7) which stands for *viṁśad-uttarāṇi*. Even

12 The frequent avoidance of a *sandhi* is not incorrect, because, according to a well-known *Kārikā*, the *sandhi* depends upon *vivakṣā*, i.e., it is to be made only if the words actually belong together. In the prose inscriptions, *sandhi* is usually not made where we would have a comma or a semi-colon.

the form *viṁśat* used only on the analogy of *triṁśat*, etc., is not Classical, but belongs to the language of the epics and the Purāṇas as is shown by the quotations in the Petersburg Lexicon. If the long syllables in *nirvyājam = avajīty = āvajītya* which are against rule, are not mere mistake in writing of the stone-engraver, —although in the case of *rāgena* for *rāgeṇa* no other assumption is possible,—then they must be regarded as only instances of Prakrit influence. Because the Prakrit dialects frequently represent *niḥ* by *nī* or *ṇī*, and the Gujarātī *jīt*, 'conquest', and *jītavuṁ*, 'to conquer', agree with the long syllable in *avajītya*. So also, the instrumental *patinā* in line 11 is formed against Pāṇini's rules, though it is in agreement with the usage of the Vedic and epic language. There is also a mistake of syntax in *anyatra saṅgrāmeṣu* (line 10), 'except in battles', which ought to be *anyatra saṅgrāmebhyaḥ*. So also the form *pryatyākhyāt-ārambhaṁ* (line 17) would be a worse mistake of syntax, as I believe in all probability it cannot be regarded as an error in writing for *pratyākhyāt-ārambhe*. Last of all, the phrase *parjanyena ekārṇava-bhūtāyām = iva pṛthivyāṁ kṛtāyām* (line 5) is a hard nut to crack. No full-fledged Classical poet has taken the liberty in this way. On the other hand, a similar phrase is more frequently met with in the epics.[13] The many points of similarity with the epics, which the language of the Girnār *praśasti* exhibits, could have led to the supposition that the author had cultivated himself exclusively by the reading of epics and that a *kāvya* proper was not at all known to him. But such a supposition is contradicted, first of all, by the general impression, which his composition makes. Whoever reads it attentively would feel that, in the matter of development of the style, it shows a stage considerably in advance of the epics. Further the supposition is contradicted

13 Cf. for instance, *Nala*. XII. 28—*keṭubhūtam=iv=otthitam*, under *bhūta* in the Petersburg Lexicon.

by several particulars leading to a similar conclusion, especially the important passage in line 14, wherein the author enumerates the attributes of a good composition, prevalent in his time.

As for the points of affinity with the *kāvya* style proper, which this *praśasti* exhibits, it is to be first of all noticed that the author knew very well the canons laid down by Daṇḍin as common to all schools, according to which *ojas* or *samāsa-bhūyastva*, the frequency and length of compounds, is the principal feature of a prose composition. In the *praśasti* also, the compounds occur more frequently than single words, and the compounds themselves often exhibit a conspicuous length. Thus in the very first line, there is a broken compound which consists of nine words with twentythree letters. Such compounds and others extending over between ten and twenty letters are numerous. Once in the description of the king (line 11) the author goes to the extreme of having a compound word which comprises seventeen words with forty letters. As compared with Harisena's performance, that of the Gujarātī author is by all means a modest one, though the latter far surpasses what the epic poets have been capable of doing or have regarded as permissible. As with Harisena, a rhythmical arrangement of letters in the longer compounds is often noticeable, as for instance, in lines 6 and 9 ff. Hand in hand with the length and number of compounds, goes the length of the sentences. The *praśasti* apparently contains only five sentences with forty-nine *grantha*, of which the fourth sentence alone consists of more than twenty-three *grantha*. Harisena surpasses the Gujarātī writer in this point also, and this is an important point, because his whole *kāvya*, though longer in extent, contains only one sentence. Of the *Śabdālaṅkāras*, we have only the *Anuprāsa*, and the repetitions of parts of words, more seldom of whole words, as well as of single letters

producing a similar sound, are very frequently met with. The specially remarkable instances are—

gurubhir = abhyasta-nāmno Rudradāmno (line 4), *sṛṣṭa-vṛṣṭinā* (line 5), °*prabhṛtīnāṁ nadīnāṁ* (line 6), °*praharaṇa-vitaraṇa*° (line 10), °*prakṛtīnāṁ*° *Niṣād-ādīnām* (line 11), ° *kāma-viṣayāṇāṁ viṣayāṇāṁ* (*loc. cit.*), °*vidheyānāṁ Yaudheyānāṁ* (line 12), °*hast-occhray-ārjit-orjita*° (line 13), *nyāy-ādyānāṁ vidyānāṁ* (*loc. cit.*), *pāraṇa-dhāraṇa* (*loc. cit.*), *dāna-mān-āvamāna* (*loc. cit.*), *gadya-padya* (line 14), *pramāṇa-mān-onmān-o*° (*loc. cit.*), °*nāmnā* °*dāmnā* °*Rudradāmnā* (line 15), *paura-jānapadaṁ janaṁ* (line 16), *paura-jānapada-jan-ā*° (line 18), *āryeṇ = āhāryeṇa* (line 19).

The *Varṇ-ānuprāsas*, which do not strike us at first sight, but which are, nevertheless, not less characteristic, are specially numerous in *giri-śikhara-taru-taṭ-āṭṭālak-opatalpa-dvāra-śaraṇ-occhraya-vidhvaṁsinā* (line 6), where the repetitions of consonants and vowels are linked together very skilfully. Thus it is quite evident that the author took great troubles with these word-ornaments and attached great importance to them. His use of these far surpasses what the epic lilerature can present, and stands pretty on a level with what we have in Hariṣeṇa. The word *yathārtha-hast-occhray-ārjit-orjita-dharm-ānurāgeṇa* (lines 12-13) is just exactly in the *kāvya* style, for the compound *arjit-orjita* is very much favoured by the later court poets. As for the *Arth-ālaṅkāras*, our author uses them but very rarely. Thus there are only two *Upamās* to be noted. In line 1-2, it is said that the lake or rather the embankment thereof is *parvvata-pratisparddhi*,[14] 'resembling the spur of a mountain', and, in line 8, the dried-up lake is spoken of as *maru-dhanva-kalpam*, 'resembling a sandy desert.' In the former instance, the expression *pratisparddhi* is quite characteristic of the *kāvya* style. We have an *Utprekṣā* in the already mentioned passage, *parjanyena*

14 [*Parvata-pāda-pratispardhi* (lines 1-2).—D.C.S.]

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF ...
1 APR 1974

ekārṇava-bhūtāyām = iva pṛthivyāṁ kṛtāyām and a faint attempt at *Śleṣa* in line 8, where it is said that the lake had become *atibhṛśaṁ durdda[rśanaṁ]*. For the rest, the author neglects the numerous opportunities which are offered to him, for instance, in the description of effect of a representation of facts marked with strong outlines, than on the conglomeration of more or less conventional figures of sense. It must be conceded that he succeeds quite well in individual descriptions, though he fails in the fineness of execution and the elaboration of details, which are found to be present in Hariṣeṇa. The passage in lines 3-7 describing the destruction of the lake, reads best notwithstanding many important lacunae. Freely rendered, the passage would read thus—

'In the year seventy-two 72 [in the reign] of the king and Great Satrap Rudradāman whose name is uttered by the worthy [praying for purity]—the son [of the king, and Great Satrap,* Lord Jayadāman] . ... the grandson of the king and Great Satrap, Lord Caṣṭana—the mention of whose name brings purity—on the [fifth or fifteenth][15] day of the dark half of the month Mārgaśīrṣa.........a storm with great streaming showers, as it were, reduced the earth to one single ocean , the terribly augmented force of the Suvarṇasikatā, the Palasinī and other rivers of the mountain Urjayat broke through the dam...... although proper remedial measures were taken, the water agitated by the whirlwind which [raged] with fearful violence as if at the end of the world-age, and which shattered down mountain-peaks, trees, rocks, terraces, temple-turrets, gates, abodes and triumphal columns, the water scattered about and tore to pieces [the.........and]

* [Jayadāman was a Satrap and not a 'Great Satrap'.—D.C.S.]

15 [First.—D.C.S.]

this [lake] [crammed] with stones, trees, bushes and circles of creepers that were thrown down, was broken up down to the bottom of the stream.'

The small number of *Arth-ālaṅkāras* is richly counterbalanced by the fourth word in line 14, which praises in all probability Rudradāman's skill in poesy, and contains, without question, the views of the author regarding the requirements of a good composition. Unfortunately, the word is mutilated. After *sphuṭa-laghu-madhura-citra kānta-śabda-samay-odār-ālaṅkṛta-gadya-padya* eight letters have been obliterated, followed by *na*. The last letter shows that the expression ended with the instrumental of an *a*-stem. Immediately after *gadya-padya* only the word *kāvya* can come, as it is absolutely necessary to complete the two expressions *gadya* and *padya*. The remaining six letters should then have been a phrase like *vidhāna-pravīṇe, racana-kuśale, racana-nirate* or like [*ā*]*svādana-nirate.* Now if we consider what is said of Rudradāman in line 13, viz., that he had acquired greater renown by the complete study, the preservation, the thorough understanding, and the skill in the use, of the great lores, such as grammar, politics, music and logic, we must go in for one of the first series of expressions proposed. Because, the practising of classical poetry is the natural complement of the cultivation of the abstruse *śāstras* in the case of the Paṇḍit, and both these have been very frequently extolled as the qualifications of Indian kings. These considerations make it quite probable that the compound in question, when completed, should stand as *sphuṭa-laghu-madhura - citra - kānta - śabda - samayo-dār -ālaṅkṛta-gadya-padya-*[*kāvya-vidhāna-pravīṇe*]*ṇa.* Now, if we take the author on his word, and suppose that he is stating only facts, nothing more nor less, then it would follow that Rudradāman must have devoted himself to the cultivation of court poetry like Samudragupta and Harṣavardhana. Then the passage in question would further prove that

the *kāvya* literature, in the second century, had been developed to such an extent that even the grandson of a foreign Satrap like Caṣṭana could not escape its influence. On the other hand, if it is thought more advisable to understand the expressions of praise in the *praśasti*, with a qualification, and to think that these expressions, regardless of actual facts, only concern themselves with representing Rudradāman as an ideal Indian prince—as the poet's fancy was pleased to depict, even then we would be justified in drawing this conclusion, at least, that during the second century it was the custom at Indian courts to occupy oneself with *kāvya*. Even this result in itself is of no little significance inasmuch as it proves that the invasion of the Scythians and other foreign races had extinguished the national art as little as the sciences. Further as regards the characteristics which the *praśasti* prescribes for *gadya-padya*, 'the compositions in prose and metrical form', it is to be noted that they essentially agree with those which are given by Daṇḍin for the Vaidarbhī *rīti*, in accordance with an old tradition.[16] In the *Kāvyādarśa*, I. 41-42, we have—

Śleṣaḥ prasādaḥ samatā mādhuryaṁ sukumāratā |
arthavyaktir = udāratvam = ojāḥ-kānti-samādhayaḥ ||
iti Vaidarbha-mārgasya prāṇā daśa guṇāḥ smṛtāḥ ||

Of these ten fundamental attributes of the Vaidarbhī style, the *praśasti* names three, viz., *mādhurya, kānti* and *udāratva*, and there is no reason why the *madhura* and *kānta* of the inscription should be interpreted otherwise than as *rasavat*, 'full of sentiment', and *sarva-jagat-kānta*, 'pleasing to the whole world' or 'lovely', respectively. On the

16 The same are mentioned in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. XVI—
śleṣaḥ prasādaḥ samatā samādhir=
mādhuryam=ojaḥ pada-saukumāryam |
arthasya ca vyaktir=udāratā ca
kāntiś=ca kāvyasya guṇā daś=aite ||

other hand, the word *udāra*, 'elevated, grand', can scarcely have the meaning which Daṇḍin attributes to it, in the *Kāvyādarśa*, I. 76.[17] The preceding *śabda-samaya* specially enters into compound with *udāra* at any rate, and the expression *śabda-samay-odāra* cannot but be translated as 'grand through the conventional (i.e. with the poets) use of words'.[18] Accordingly, our author, following those who are referred to by Daṇḍin, as *kecit* (*Kāvy.*, I. 79), means by *udāra*, that the language in which are used proverbial words and attributes commended by poets, e.g., *krīḍā-saraḥ*, *līl-āmbuja* and similar words. A fourth characteristic mentioned by Daṇḍin, the *arthavyakti*, 'clearness of meaning', can be easily recognised in the synonymous expression *sphuṭa* of the inscription. A fifth characteristic *ojas*, 'the force of expression', may probably be meant by the adjective *citra*, 'wonderful, exciting wonder.' In favour of this, we can quote Bharata's definition (Chap. XVI)—

samāsavadbhir = vividhair = vicitraiś = ca padair = yutam /
sātu(dhu)-svarair = udāraiś = ca tad = ojaḥ parikīrtyate //

Even in the epithet *laghu* which is wrongly rendered by the translators as 'short', we may find hidden a reference to the sixth attribute of the Vaidarbha style. *Laghu* here, no doubt, means 'beautiful, pleasing', and it very possibly stands for *prasāda* or *sukumāratā*, both of which are conducive to loveliness of composition. The last adjective, *alaṅkṛta*, leaves no doubt about the fact that the author of the

17 *Utkarṣavān guṇaḥ kaścid=yasminn=ukte pratīyate ;*
tad=udār-āhvayaṁ............

18 Bhagvānlāl's translation, 'remarkable for grammatical correctness', is not right for several reasons. 'Grammatical correctness' would be *śabda-śuddhatva*, and this quality does not make a composition *udāra*. Besides, the king's ability to write correctly is mentioned in line 13. I explain *śabda-samay-odāra* thus : *śabdeṣu śabda-viṣaye yaḥ kavīnāṁ samayaḥ saṅketa ācāro vā tena udāraṁ*.

praśasti was acquainted with some theory of the *Alaṅkāras.* In accordance with the proposed filling up of the lacunae and the explanations offered so far, the whole clause may be thus rendered—

'[by the king and Great Satrap Rudradāman] who [was expert in the composition of] prose and metrical *kāvyas*, which are easily intelligible, charming, full of sentiment, capable of awakening wonder, lovely, noble with the conventional use of words, embellished [with the prescribed figures of speech].' Thus, whatever we may say about Rudradāman busying himself with poesy—a fact which is very probable, though of course we cannot be absolutely sure about it—so much is certain that the author of our *praśasti* lays on poets conditions very similar to those prescribed by Daṇḍin, that in the second century there must have been already in existence romances and other works in high prose as well as compositions not preserved to us, and that there also existed an *Alaṅkāra-śāstra.*

V

Nāsik Inscription No. 18, dated in the Nineteenth Regnal Year of Śrī-Puḷumāyi

A further contribution to the knowledge of the *kāvya* style of the second century and especially of the poetic ideas and comparisons in vogue at the time is made by the *praśasti* of a cave which was given over to the monks of the Bhadrāyanīya school in the nineteenth year of the reign of the Andhra king Śrī-Puḷumāyi. The date of the inscription can be only approximately determined at present. Nevertheless it must be somewhat older than the Girnār *praśasti* discussed above. Śrī-Puḷumāyi, like Caṣṭana, is, as we know, mentioned by Ptolemy, under the name of Siro-Polemaios or Siri-Polemios, as the ruler of Baithana, i.e., Païṭṭhāna or

Pratiṣṭhāna on the Godāvarī river. Accordingly, the inscription in question will have to be placed somewhere about the middle of the second century. To the same result leads another circumstance which is put forth by Bhāū Dājī in *Journ. Bomb. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. VIII, p. 242. According to line 6 of our inscription, Puḷumāyi's father Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi extinguished the family of Khakharāta. In the inscriptions at Nāsik,[1] Junnar and Karle is mentioned a Kṣaharāta king and Satrap or Great Satrap Nahapāna, whose son-in-law, the Śaka Uṣavadāta or Usabhadāta was a great patron of the Brāhmaṇas and Buddhists and made many grants in the Western Deccan as well as in the Koṅkaṇ and Kaṭhiāwāṛ, and we are provided with several dates of his reign, from the year 40 to 46. The similarity of the names Khakharāta and Kṣaharāta makes it very probable that they denote one and the same person, a supposition which is also favoured by the circumstance that just the very districts, in which Uṣavadāta made his grants, have been mentioned in lines 2f. of our inscription as parts of Śātakarṇi's dominions.[2] The title Satrap or Great Satrap borne by Nahapāna leads to the further conclusion that he was a dependent prince and the fact that, on his coins, the Kharoṣṭrī-lipi is used side by side with the southern alphabet, proves his connection with the north-west where the Indo-Scythians were rulers. We may, therefore, suppose that he, like Rudradāman, used the Śaka era, and thus his last date, Saṁvat 46, would correspond to 124-25 A.D. Very probably his unfortunate

---

1 *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV, pp. 99-103 (Nos. 5-11).

2 See especially Inscription No. 20, in which a village given as a present by Usabhadāta is again given away by an Andhra king. Cf. *Arch. Sur. W. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 106 (No. 6) and pp. 112-113 (No. 120)

war with Śātakarṇi took place soon after this year. According to his inscriptions,[3] Śātakarṇi ruled for at least 24 years, and extinguished the Kṣaharāta king and Satrap before the eighteenth year of his reign. For, the Nāsik inscription No. 13, bearing this year, disposes of a village in the district of Govardhana,[4] which had in earlier times belonged to the dominions of Nahapāna. If then we assume that the battle between Nahapāna and Śātakarṇi took place in the year 47 of the Śaka era used by the former, i.e., in 125-26 A.D., and in the fifteenth year of the reign of the latter, then the year of the writing of our inscription would be 153-54 A. D., by adding the 9 years of Śātakarṇi and the 19 years of Puḷumāyi to 125. Of course, it is possible that the date in question may be from ten to twelve years earlier or very few years later even. A later date than this does not seem to be probable, because the mention of Puḷumāyi's name by Ptolemy shows that he must have been on the throne a long time before 151 A.D., the date of the completion of the Geography.[5]

If we accept these conjectures which at least possess a very high probability, then our inscription is about twenty years older than the *praśasti* of the Sudarśana lake; and its style must be regarded as a proof for the growth of *kāvya* in the middle of the second century. Although it is composed in an old Prakrit very much nearer to Pāli,

3 *Arch. Sur. W. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 106 (No. 14, last line).

4 *Ibid.*, p. 105, where 14 is to be corrected to 18. [See *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 198.—D.C.S.]

5 Cf. also Bhaṇḍārkar's remarks in his *Early History of the Dekkan*, pp. 20 ff., where the date of the inscription is placed somewhat earlier. In several particulars, I cannot agree with Bhaṇḍārkar. [Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi occupied the Nasik-Poona region from Usabhadāta about the 18th year of his reign, which roughly corresponded to the latest known date of Nahapāna, i.e. year 46=124 A.D.—D.C.S.]

still the results that may follow from its examination would of course be equally applicable to Sanskrit poetry, as there exists no separating barrier between Prakrit and Sanskrit *kāvyas*. As far as the information provided by the *Alaṅkāra-śāstra* goes, both Sanskrit and Prakrit compositions are regarded as branches of a common stem and are both bound by the same laws. Accordingly, we find that all the known Prakrit *kāvyas* are composed in obedience to the same canons as are those written in Sanskrit. They present the same varieties of style and the same types and the same *alaṅkāras*, and it happens not seldom that one and the same author uses both Prakrit and Sanskrit. Even the author of our inscription must have known Sanskrit and been expert in Sanskrit *kāvya* also, because he appears to be guilty of some Sanskriticisms. The compound *Vijhachavanta* (line 2) appears to be but a transliteration of the Sanskrit *Vindhyarkṣavat*, since the Greek from *Ouzegios* shews that the Prakrit name of the Ṛkṣavat began with *u*.* Another apparently Sanskrit *sandhi* is found in *Kesavājuna* (line 8), where the rule of the Prakrit demands *Kesav-ajuna*, i.e., *Kesavajjuna*.[6] So also the form *pitupatiyo* (line 11) occurring in a writing of such a late date, must be looked upon as only an archaic imitation of *pitṛpatnyoḥ*.[7] As far as I know, this is the only instance of a genitive in the dual number, which has been entirely lost even in older Prakrit literature. It is even possible that the inscription might have been at first composed in Sanskrit and then translated or transliterated, as the Prakrit, which resembled Pāli, was then, as even in much later times, the official language in Southern India.[8] Whatever may be the case, so much is

* [*Acchavanta* for *Ṛkṣavat* is quite correct.—D.C.S.]

6 [Another form of *Ajjuna* seems to be *Ājuna*.—D.C.S.]

7 [The rendering is doubtful.—D.C.S.]

8 See on this my remarks on the Prakrit Pallava land grant in the *Epigraphia Indica*, [Vol. I—D.C.S.], pp. 4 f.

certain that the author was acquainted with the Sanskrit language as well as the Sanskrit literature.

His work is a *gadya-kāvya* like the Girnār inscription discussed above and belongs to the class of *praśastis*. After the date given in quite an official manner, there follows the description of the king of kings Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi written in a high poetic style, which together with the shorter praise of his mother Gautamī Balaśrī and of the cave prepared by her, in all, covers eight lines and a half, and altogether makes a gigantic sentence. Then there come at the end two short sentences which say that the queen gave away the cave to the Bhadrāyanīya monks and that her grandson Puḷumāyi assigned the village Piśācīpadraka for the preservation of the sculpture and pictures. In these concluding sentences, the language is quite business-like; but even there we find the use of some figures on a small scale. In the first of these, the mother is described by means of three epithets giving rise to alliteration, *Mahādevī Mahārāja-mātā Mahārāja-pitāmahī*; in the second, the king is spoken of not by name, but as *Mahādevīya ajjakāya sevākāmo piyakāmo ṇa[tā Sakalaḍakhiṇā]-pathesaro*,[9] 'the grandson ever willing to serve and please the queen the grand-mother, the lord of the whole of the Deccan.' Thus even here the author does not forget his profession altogether.

As for the first and the main part of the *praśasti*, its style entirely resembles that of the Girnār *praśasti* in that long compounds are used to bring out *ojas* or the force of language. These run on almost exclusively from line 2, to line 6; then in line 7, the almost breathless reader is favoured with a resting pause, inasmuch as only short words are used. In the last line and a half of the

9 [*Ṇa[tā Puḷumāyi Dakhiṇa]pathesaro*.—D.C.S.]

description of the king, the poet again takes a new leaf and uses towards the end the longest compound which contains sixteen words with forty-three letters (*Pavana-Garuḷa*, etc.). The *Anuprāsa* is more liberally used, as is the case with the Girnār *praśasti*. Thus we have in line 2 *Asika-Asaka*, in line 3 *pavata-patisa*, *divasakara-kara*, *kamala-vimala*, in the last parts of the compound in lines 3-4 *sāsanasa*, *vadanasa*, *vāhanasa*, *dasanasa*, and many more similar expressions. In one point, however, the Nāsik inscription differs from the Girnār *praśasti*. While the latter disdains the use of the conventional similes of court poets, these are found in our *praśasti* in a very large number and are sometimes very striking too. Just the very first epithet of the king *Himavata-Meru-Madara-pavata-sama-sārasa*, 'whose essence resembles that of the mountains Himavat, Meru and Mandara', is conceived quite in the *kāvya* style. Thus the author shows that comparisons of the king with these mountains, so favourite in later times, were in vogue even in his day. What he, in reality, means by the phrase in question is that Śātakarṇi was possessed of great treasures, like the Himālaya, that he was the central point of the world, and overshadowed the same with his height, like the Meru, and that like the Mandara which was used as a rod by the gods at the time of churning out nectar, he knew how to bring to light and to acquire for himself Lakṣmī, the *Fortuna regum*.

The correctness of this explanation can be easily demonstrated. For, the idea that the Himālaya hides within himself immeasurable treasures has been prevalent amongst the Indian people since a very old time, and it finds its expression in mythology, in that the abode of Kubera is located in the Himālaya. To the court poets the idea that riches are the *sāra* of the Himālaya is so obvious that at times they do not express it at all, but

only hint at the same. But Kālidāsa says in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV. 78—

> *parasparena vijñātas = teṣ = ūpāyana-pāṇiṣu |*
> *rājñā Himavataḥ sāro rājñaḥ sāraḥ Himādriṇā ||*

'As the [Gaṇas came] with presents in their hands, they understood each other's essence; the king, that of the Himālaya (i.e., his riches) and the Himālaya that of the king (i.e., his might).'

Equally old and generally prevalent is the conception that the mountain Meru is the centre of the world; and kings are very frequently compared with the same, in *kāvyas*, in order to illustrate their great might. Thus, in the beginning of the *Kādambarī*, Bāṇa says (Peterson's ed., p. 5, line 11) of king Śūdraka—

> *Merur = iva sakala-bhuvan-opajīvyamāna-pāda-cchāyaḥ,*

'He resembles Meru in that all the worlds live in the shadow of his feet,' i.e., are preserved through his protection, just as they live in the shadow of the spur of the mountain. The comparison is also found in the inscriptions, e.g., in the *praśasti* which forms a prelude to the grant of land made by the Caulukya king Mūlarāja I. It is said there[10] (line 3): *Merur = iva sarvadā madhyasthaḥ*, 'He resembles Meru, in that he is always *madhyastha*, i.e., the the centre of the world, and impartial.'

As for the mountain Mandara, it is one the most well-known myths, according to which it served the gods as a churning-rod, at the churning of the milk-ocean. As on

---

10 See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 191. My translation as given there mentions only the second meaning of *madhyastha*. It is, however not improbable that the writer also means to say that Mūlarāja was the centre of the world, although the expression cannot apply to a petty ruler who possessed only a few miles of land. Such considerations, however, have no weight with a court poet.

that occasion, Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth, came out, and she is often described as the representative of the royal power and splendour and even as the consort of kings, the kings themselves are often compared with the Mandara mountain in order to hint at the idea that they churn out Fortune from the ocean of the enemies. Thus in the *Harṣacarita* (Kashmir ed., p. 227, line 7), Bāṇa says, while describing king Puṣyabhūti, that he was *Mandara-maya iva Lakṣmī-samākarṣaṇe*, 'Mandara-like in drawing out Lakṣmī.' This same thought is further elaborated in verse 7 of the Aphsaḍ *praśasti*,[11] a composition of the seventh century, written in a high Gauḍa style, where it is said of king Kumāragupta—

bhīmaḥ śr-Īśānavarma- kṣitipati-śaśinaḥ sainya-dugdh-oda-sindhur = Lakṣmī-samprāpti-hetuḥ sapadi vimathito Mandarībhūya yena ||

'Who became the Mandara and immediately churned out the terrible army of the illustrious Īśānavarman, a moon amongst princes, the army, which was the means of the acquisition of Fortune, and thus resembled the milk-ocean.' A still more artificial representation of the simile is found in the *praśastis* of the Rāṭhor king Govinda II, verse 3, belonging to the beginning of the ninth century. I have explained it fully in the translation of the passage.

In the face of these facts, it cannot be doubted that the author of the Nāsik inscription intended to say or to hint all that is contained in the explanation given above ;[12]

---

11 *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, Vol. p. 203, line 7.

12 It is just possible that he had in view even other less important qualities of the mountains named here. Thus, as the Meru is the abode of the *vibudha* or the gods, and as *vibudha* also means 'a wise man', the comparison of the king with the Meru may imply a compliment to the effect that the king was surrounded by wise councillors and learned men. Cf., for instance, *Vāsavadattā*, p. 14, line 1—*Merur=iva vibudh-ālayaḥ*.

and when we see that he dares to express himself in such an extra-ordinarily cousise manner and is content with only alluding to the *sāra* of the three mountains, we cannot but suppose that, in the first place, he knew all the myths in question and, in the second place, the comparisons of kings with these mountains were in vogue then; for otherwise the expression in question would have been quite unintelligible to the hearer. The comparisons involved in the epithets in the next lines 3-4 are some of them so familar that it is not necessary to demonstrate their occurrence in the *kāvya.* This is the case, for instance, with the phrase *divaskara-kara-vibodhita-kamala-vimala-sadisa-vadanasa,* 'whose face resembles a spotless lotus which the sun's rays have awakened [from the nocturnal sleep]', on which we should only remark that the use of the word *kara,* which also means 'hand,' is not unitentional. Equally common-place is the comparison in *paṭipuna-cada-maḍala-sasirīka-piya-dasanasa,* 'whose appearance is lovely and lustrous like the full moon.' But as the face has been spoken of before, the author uses *dasana* for *vadana* and thus varies somewhat the usual idea. Lastly, no examples are necessary for *vara-vāraṇa-vikama-cāru-vikamasa,* 'whose gait is beautiful like that of a lordly elephant', and *bhujagapati-bhoga-pīna-vāṭa-vipula-digha-sudara-bhujasa* 'whose arms strong, round, massive, long and beautiful like the coils of the prince of serpents'. With regard to the last epithet, it must be observed, in the meanwhile, that the author has taken great troubles to give a new unusual form to the old comparison of the arm of a warrior with a serpent, already very usual in the epics. For the purpose, he mentions the serpent-prince Śeṣa instead of some other favourite serpent and piles together a number of adjectives. The first of these things is often done by court poets; e.g., in the *Raghuvaṁśa,* XIV. 31, Kālidāsa describes Kāma as

sarpādhirāj-oru-bhuja. Somewhat rare is the absurd notion *ti-samuda-toya-pīta-vāhanasa*, 'whose armies drink the water of the three oceans', though sanctioned by the usage of Indian poets. Similar expressions are now and then met with in panegyrics and *praśastis*, with a view to suggest that the victorious armies have passed forward to the shores of the ocean. A rhetorician remarks that the water of the ocean would never be drunk. But nevertheless the poets very frequently uses expressions like the one above, which, therefore, cannot be looked upon as involving a breach of *aucitya*.[13]

The following lines contain nothing useful for our purpose. Their object is to represent Śātakarṇi as a ruler who lived up to the rules of *Nītiśāstra*. On the other hand, the short epithets in line 7 remind us of several passages in the descriptions of heroes and haroines by Bāṇa who also frequently interrupts the long winded compounds and the tiring rows of comparisons, in quite a similar manner, and now and then makes use of similar expressions in such cases. The correctness of what we say will be best shown by placing this part of the inscription side by side with a passage, in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, from the description of king Śūdraka—[14]

(a) *āgamāna nilayasa sapurisāna asayasa sirīya adhiṭhānasa upacārāna pabhavasa eka-kusasa eka-dhanudharasa eka-surasa eka-bamhaṇasa.*

(b) *kartā mahādharmāṇām = āhartā kratūnām = ādarśaḥ sarva-śāstrāṇām = utpattiḥ kulānāṁ kula-bhavanaṁ guṇānām = āgamaḥ kāvyāmṛta-rasānām = Udayaśailo mitra-maṇḍalasy = otpāta-ketur =*

13 See, for instance, the Udepur *praśasti*, verse 10 (*Ep. Ind.*, [Vol. I.—D.C.S.], p. 234).
The name of the rhetorician I have unfortunately not noted.

14 *Kādambarī*, p. 5, lines 12-16; cf. also p. 56, lines 7-8.

ahita-janasya pravartayitā goṣṭhī-bandhānāṁ = āśrayo rasikānāṁ pratyādeśo dhanuṣmatāṁ dhaureyaḥ sāhasikānām = agraṇīr = vidagdhānāṁ.

Of course Bāṇa's expressions are much more choice, and they show a considerable advance in the development of the style. Nevertheless, certain similarity is unmistakable and the reason why simpler epithets are inserted in the midst of more complicate ones is no doubt the same in both the cases. In line 8, we meet with two long compounds which compare Śātakarṇi with the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* as well as with the kings of yore described in that work—'Whose bravery was similar to that of Rāma (Halabhṛt), Keśava, Arjuna and Bhīmasena', and 'whose lustre resembled that of Nābhāga, Nahuṣa, Janamejaya, Śaṁkara,[15] Yayāti, Rāma [of the Raghu race] and Ambarīṣa. Further, these two compounds are separated, certainly not without intention, by another epithet inserted between them. Comparisons with the kings of epic tales are as a rule used by Subandhu and Bāṇa, in the descriptions of their heroes, who, however, work out in a far finer way. They bring out the similarity in particular points by means of a *śleṣa* on every name or show that their heroes surpass by far the old heroes; in that they go more deeply into the original.[16] Here, in our inscriptions, we have to do with the beginnings of a development which reached its high point certainly in the seventh century, or perhaps even much earlier.

To the great significance of the immediately following passage, I have already alluded (*Nava-Sāhasāṅkacarita of*

15 [Sagara.—D.C.S.]

16 Cf. for instance, *Vāsavadattā*, p. 15; p. 22, line 1; p. 27, line 3; p. 122, lines 4-5, and especially the passage from the *Harṣacarita* referred to by Cartellieri, *Wiener Zeitschrift f.d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. I, p. 126.

Padmagupta, pp. 48 ff.)—'who standing in the forefront defeated the hosts of his enemies, in a battle in which, in a manner immeasurable, eternal, incomprehensible and marvellous, the wind, Garuḍa, the Siddhas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Vidyādharas, Bhūtas, Gandharvas, Cāraṇas, the sun, the moon, stars and planets took part.'[17] It is just the oldest instance of a mixture of history and mythology, so usual in the later court poets. As Bilhaṇa repeatedly makes Siva to interfere in the fortunes of his patron, Vikramāditya, or as Hemacandra surrounds his master Jayasiṁha-Siddharāja with supernatural beings, or as Padmagupta-Parimala reduces the history of the life of Siddharāja[18] to a pure myth, so has here our author given heavenly powers as confederates to the father of his master. This passage thus provides us with an interesting point of connection between our inscription and the style of narration of the court poets. About the meaning of the next phrase, unfortunately we are not sure, as the first letter can be read as *nā* or *ṇa*. If we read *ṇagavara-khadhā gaganatalam=abhivigāḍhasa*, as is most probably the case, then it would be rendered thus—'who towered up higher in heaven than the shoulder of a great mountain, or the trunk of a grand tree.'[19] With this we may compare the *Raghuvaṁśa*, XVIII. 16, where it is said of king Pāriyātra—

Uccaiḥ-śirastvāj=jita-Pāriyātraṁ
Lakṣmīḥ siṣeve kila Pāriyātram//

---

17 Bhaṇḍārkar and Bhagvānlāl translate *vicina*—which I have freely rendered as 'in which took part', by 'witnessed'. The reason why I do not follow this meaning is that no examples of this meaning accepted by the two gentlemen are known to me; on the contrary, *yuddhaṁ vicar*, 'to fight a battle', is given in the Petersburg Lexicon.

18 [Sindhurāja.—D.C.S.]

19 The ablative implies here, as is often the case in Sanskrit, that the Positive form has the sense of the Comparative.

'Fortune resorted, indeed, to [king] Pāriyātra, the height of whose head surpassed [the mountain] Pāriyātra.'

If, on the other hand, we read *nāgavara-khadhā*, then we must translate—'who went up into the heaven from the shoulder of his lordly elephant.' The meaning then would correspond to that of verse 20 in the Lakhā Maṇḍal *praśasti*,[20] where it is said of Gandragupta, the consort of the princess Īśvarā of Siṁhapura—

bhartari gatavati nākaṁ kariṇaḥ skandhāt

'As her husband ascended to heaven from the shoulder of his elephant......'

These words describe Candragupta's death, and would mean that he fell from an elephant, and had his neck broken, or that he, while fighting on elephant-back in the battle, met with a hero's death, or perhaps that he exchanged the splendour of the earthly life of a prince for heaven. The second alternative seems to be the most probable. At any rate, the passage referring to Śātakarṇi will have to be understood thus, in case the reading *nāga* is the correct one.

In the remaining lines, we have first the praise of queen Gautamī Balaśrī, 'who, in every way, acted as worthy of her title "the wife of a royal sage" ;' secondly, the very bold, though improper, comparison of the mountain Triraśmi with a peak of the Kailāsa mountain, and lastly the assurance that the cave possessed a magnificence which equalled that of a lordly palace of the gods. All these three notions are most usual in the *kāvyas*. Instances of the third have been already mentioned by us above.

What we have said so far should quite suffice to prove that the Nāsik inscription No. 18, also, bears a close

---

20 *Ep. Ind.*, p. 13. [Lakkhāmaṇḍal *praśasti* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 13).—D.C.S.]

relationship with the *gadya-kāvyas* preserved for us, and that it especially contains many comparisons current in the latter. It must, however, be repeated that this *praśasti* occupies a considerably lower rank than the prose parts in Hariṣeṇa's *kāvya*, and is still less artificial than the works of Subandhu, Bāṇa and Daṇḍin.

VI

Conclusions and their Bearing on the Theory of Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature

Now we propose to sum up the results following from the detailed examination carried on so far. In the second century of our era, there existed *gadya-kāvya* which resembled the Classical samples of the same, not only in respect of the fundamental principles, but in many details also. Like the rhetoricians and writers of the fourth and the following centuries, the poets of the second century regarded the essence of the *gadya-kāvya* as consisting in the frequent use of *Sesquipedalia verba.* Like the later authors, they were fond of constructing very long sentences, a thing which depended for the most part, on the length and number of compound words. However, they permitted, to the reciter and the hearer, resting pauses between long compounds by inserting shorter words or phrases made up of shorter words, some of which are not unlike those inserted for the same purpose in the Classical samples of works written in high prose. Of the *Alaṅkāras*, the poets make use of the Alliteration, *Upamā*, *Utprekṣā*, and *Rūpaka*, and at any rate, an attempt at *Śleṣa*. As compared with what we find in the Classical works, the figures of speech are in the first place, used much more rarely, and in the second place, are executed with much less care and skill. Sometimes these rise not at all, or only very little, above the level of what is found in the epics. So also we are

reminded of the language of the epics by the several grammatical forms which are used by the author of the *praśasti* of the Sudarśana lake. On the other hand, the arbitrary intermixture of history with mythology found in the Nāsik *praśasti* just corresponds to a tendency which, in much later *kāvyas*, comes to view very strongly.[1]

Side by side with works written in high prose, there existed, as is to be expected, and as is distinctly shown by the Girnār *praśasti*, metrical works whose form essentially agreed with the rules laid down, in the oldest available manuals, for the Vaidarbha style. Further, this accordance with rules naturally points to the existence of an *Alaṅkāra-śāstra* or some theory of the poetic art. Both these kinds of composition were equally esteemed with the Brāhmaṇic science, at the courts of Indian princes and in spite of the lacunae in the Girnār inscriptions, it is hardly to be doubted that a personal occupation with poesy is ascribed to the king and Great Satrap Rudradāman, the grandson of a non-Aryan* governor of an Indo-Scythian ruler. Be this right or not, it is in any case quite evident that the poesy, resembling the Classical *kāvya* in essential features, enjoyed royal favour in the second century, as it did

1 According to my view, what the two inscriptions present must be looked upon as the minimum of the development of poesy at that time, and not as the maximum. It appears to me very probable that, in the second century, there had been many superior and more elaborate compositions, because the author of the Girnār inscription was only an obscure provincial writer, and the author of the Nāsik inscription was only a court poet of the Andhra king; it is, however, very questionable whether the poetic art had reached, in Souhtern India, that degree of development which it had reached at the special centres of intellectual life in Northern India. It would be a strange change, indeed, if the two inscriptions presented to us a completely accurate picture of the stage of development in which Indian poesy was at that time.

* [Non-Indian.—D.C.S.]

in later times, and that it was cultivated at the Indian courts. In no case can it be said that the Brāhmaṇic science and literature were extinguished by the invasions and the rule of the barbarian foreigners (as an Indian would say). If we suppose that the *praśasti* informs us of pure historical truth, then its contents clearly show that the life of literature in the second century must have attained to such a richness and strength as to win over to itself even the descendants of barbarians. Thus it naturally follows that the *kāvya* could not have been a new discovery in the second century ; but it must have had a long previous history which went back to the times when Aryan princes were the exclusive rulers of India. For this reason, it would not be certainly going too far to assert that the Girnār *praśasti* makes probable the existence of the *kāvya* style, even in the first century.

A very large number of *praśastis* go to prove that in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, the *kāvya* literature was in its full bloom and that the *kāvyas* did not at all differ from those handed down to us. The second independent Gupta king whose reign, no doubt, covered the greatest part of the second half of the fourth century, Samudragupta-Parākramāṅka, was himself a poet, and received from his admirers the title *Kavirāja*. He supported several poets, who at the same time were Paṇḍits, and put an end, as far as he could, to the old antagonism between the Muses and Plutus. His courtiers followed the example of their master, and the penegyric by Hariṣeṇa, 'the minister of foreign affairs and the counsellor of the prince royal',* shows that Samudragupta had at least one poet, of whom he had no reason to be ashamed.

Heriṣeṇa's *kāvya* is in every respect an artistically finished

* [*Kumārāmātya* may be an *Amātya* enjoying the status of a *Kumāra*.—D.C.S.]

little work, which places its author in a line with Kālidāsa and Daṇḍin. Its style is that of the Vaidarbha School. The very fact that Hariṣeṇa himself belonged to the north-east of India shows that, there must have preceded his time, a period of literature, during which, poets from Berar in the Northern Deccan, accomplished much, and brought their particular taste to a high repute. Probably this full bloom of the Vaidarbhas will fall in the third century, or at the latest in the beginning of the fourth century. Under Samudragupta's successor, Candragupta II Vikramāditya, poetry must have similarly enjoyed the patrongge of the court, inasmuch as even the king's minister took to himself cleverness in versifying, if not a real poetic talent as such. Even this little composition is written in the style of the Vaidarbha School. The same holds good of the *praśastis* of the time of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta. The works in existence are, however, most insignificant, a phenomenon which is satisfactorily explained by the fact that they were all written by provincial writers. In the second half of the fourth century, in Vatsabhaṭṭi's *praśasti* of the Sun temple at Daśapura-Mandasor, we see traces of the existence of the School of the Gauḍas, the poets of eastern India. This work should be called rather the exercise of a scholar who busied himself with the study of the *kāvya* literature, than the product of an actual poet. We can see therein that its author studied the *kāvyas*, and Rhetorics, but that, in spite of all the troubles he took to produce a real *kāvya*, he possessed little of inborn talent. Small offences against good taste, such as the use of expletives and tautologous words, are more frequently met with. In one place, the author is led to forget one of the most elementary rules of Grammar, by the exigencies of the metre; in another place, in his zeal to form long compounds, he is tempted to disregard the rule, always observed by good writers, according to which, the weak pause can never come at the

end of a half-verse. In a third place, he jumbles together two ideas in a manner the least permissible ; and his attempt to bring out a new comparison between the clouds and the houses leads in no way to a happy result.

These defects in Vatsabhaṭṭi's *praśasti* make it the more important to the historian of literature, inasmuch as they bear testimony to the fact that everything worthy of attention, in the *praśasti*, is gathered from the literature of his time and compiled into a whole. Thus, on the one hand, we are assured of the fact that about the year 472 A.D., there was a rich *kāvya* literature in existence ; and on the other hand, greater weight is gained by the points of accordance with the works handed down to us, which the *praśasti* presents. It has been already pointed out above that verse 10 of the *praśasti* only repeats, for the most part, the comparison contained in verse 65 of the *Meghadūta*, with some new points added in a very forced way, while the remaining points contained in that verse of Kālidāsa, find themselves repeated in verse 11 of the *praśasti*. Further, it is to be noted that Vatsabhaṭṭi, like Kālidāsa, shows a special predilection for the word *subhaga*, and that he, while describing king Bandhuvarman, plays upon his name just in the same way as Kālidāsa does with the names of the Raghus, whom he describes at the beginning of Sarga XVIII of the *Raghuvaṁśa*. These facts make the conjecture more probable that Vatsabhaṭṭi knew and made use of the works of Kālidāsa. The same view is advocated by Kielhorn in a publication[2] just appearing, which reached me after this treatise was nearly finished. He reads in verse 31 of the *praśasti*—

rāmā-sanātha-bhavan-odara-bhāskar-āṁśu-
vahni-pratāpa-subhage...........

---

2 'The Mandasor inscription of the Mālava year 529 (472 A.D.) and Kālidāsa's *Ṛtusaṁhāra*'. [*N. K. G. W.*—D.C.S.], Göttingen. 1890, pp. 251 ff.

instead of °*bhavane dara*°, and shows that the verse sufficiently agrees with the *Ṛtusaṁhāra*, V. 2-3, in both words and thoughts, as there are only two new points added. Although I am not in a position, without examining a good impression of the inscription, to give a definite opinion regarding the proposed, and no doubt very interesting, alteration of the text, still the truth of his assertion that verse 31 of the *praśasti* is an imitation of the *Ṛtusaṁhāra*, V. 3-3, appears to me quite undeniable. If we may believe in the tradition[3] which ascribes the *Ṛtusaṁhāra* to the author of the *Meghadūta*, then the point overlooked by me, which Kielhorn has made out, strengthens the probability of the supposition that Kālidāsa lived before 472 A.D., which is very significant. In that case, however, it will have to be assumed that Vatsabhaṭṭi knew the *Ṛtusaṁhāra* also.

One of these conclusions,—the statement that the Indian artificial poetry had developed itself not after, but before the beginning of our era,—is confirmed also by references in a literary work which is by all means old. Whosoever goes through the collection of poetic citations from the *Mahābhāṣya*, which Kielhorn has brought together in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 326 ff., cannot but see that the *kāvya* prospered in Patañjali's time. Many of the verses exhibit metres characteristic of the artificial poetry, such as *Mālatī*, *Pramitākṣarā*, *Praharṣiṇī* and *Vasantatilakā*. These

3 This tradition is, at any rate, older than Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*, which belongs probably to the first half of the fifteenth century. In it, are quoted two verses from the *Ṛtusaṁhāra*, No. 1674 (= *Ṛtus.*, VI. 17) and No. 1678 (=*Ṛtus.*, VI. 20), under the name *Kālidāsaya*. In the note to the first of these, the editors wrongly attribute it to the *Kumārasambhava*, VI. 17. The mistake has been rather due to a misprint. Two other verses from the *Ṛtusaṁhāra* have been cited in the same anthology, but without a mention of the particular author. Vallabha has probably taken them from some older work on which the author's name was not given.

verses as well as many others[4] in the heroic *Anuṣṭubh-Śloka* agree, in point of contents as well as the mode of expressions, not with epic works, but with the court *kāvyas*. The composition of the *Mahābhāṣya* can now indeed no longer be placed with certainty in the middle of the second century before Christ, as was the case generally up till very recently; because the uncertainty of the known arguments of Goldstucker and others has become more and more evident with the time.[5] In the meanwhile, according to what Kielhorn in his article,[5a] 'The Grammarian Pāṇini', has said about the relation of Bhartṛhari and the *Kāśikā* to the *Mahābhāṣya*, and for reasons of language and style, we cannot establish for Patañjali a later *terminus ad quem* than something like the first century after Christ. Thus the passages from Patañjali show at any rate, as Kielhorn remarks in *Ind. Ant.*, *loco citato*, 'that the so-called Classical poetry is older than it has lately been represented to be.' A further proof for the early growth of the Sanskrit *kāvya* is provided by a Buddhist work, the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa, whose Chinese translation was prepared between 414 and 421 A.D. The work is not a *mahākāvya* in name only, but is written in the *kāvya* style, as we may judge

---

4 In this connection, one should notice the quotations from Vol. I, pp. 426, 435; Vol. II, p. 119; Vol. III, pp. 143, 338 (Kielhorn's edition of the *Bhāṣya*).

5 According to the communication of Paṇḍit N. Bhāskarācārya, 'The Age of Patañjali', Adyar Series, No. 1, p. 4, the two old Mss. from the South are unfavourable to one, historically important, word, not contested till now, inasmuch as they do not read *Mauryaiḥ*, but *pauraiḥ* in the well-known passage on Pāṇ., V. 3.99. Although the treatise mentioned above contains very little else that is noteworthy, still this point requires to be investigated further especially as Southern Mss. have not been available for the *Bhāṣya* up till now.

5a *Nachrichten der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Göttingen, 1885, pp. 185 ff.

from the samples given by Bendall.[6] Beal, the translator of the Chinese version, looks upon the Buddhist tradition as right;[7] according to this, the author, Aśvaghoṣa, was a contemporary of Kaniṣka (78 A.D.). Even if we lay aside this difficult question and take our stand on the date of its translation, which is beyond doubt, the work would still possess great worth from the point of view of the history of literature. The composition of the work in question cannot be placed in any case later than 350-400 A.D. Even the bare fact that a Buddhist monk, as early as this, thought of writing the legend of the Buddha, according to the rules of the poetic art, establishes a great popularity of the Brāhmaṇic artificial poetry and confirms the conclusions, arrived at above, by the analysis of Hariṣeṇa's *praśasti*. A thorough examination of the *Buddhacarita*, and a comparison of its style with that of older *kāvyas* and with the rules of the oldest manual of Rhetorics will, without doubt, lead to more definite and more important results.*

If one compares the conclusions, set forth in this essay, with the views of other Sanskritists regarding the history of Indian *kāvya*, it will be found that they are entirely incompatible, expecially with those which Max Müller has argued out, in his famous dissertation[8] on the Re-

6 *Catalogue of Buddhist Sansk. Mss.*, p. 82.

7 *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XIX, pp. xxx ff.

* [A number of stanzas in the Classical metres and in the *kāvya* style are found in inscriptions belonging to the age of the Śakas of Mathurā about the beginning of the first century A.D. Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 122; cf. p. 187; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 200, No. 7.—D.C.S.]

8 *India, what can it teach us?* pp. 281 ff. On the other hand Lassen's views regarding the development of *kāvya* come pretty near to the results given above. As he had studied the inscriptions, it was but natural that the significance of the Girnār inscription and of Hariṣeṇa's *praśasti* did not escape his observation; see *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Part II, pp. 1159 f., 1169 f.

naissance of Sanskrit Literature; and thus I am not, in this case, in a position to agree with the literary-historical suppositions of my honoured friend and to build further on the same, as I have done many times on other occasions. His first proposition that the Indians did not show any literary activity during the first and second centuries of our era, in consequence of the inroads of the different foreign races, is contradicted by the clear proof provided by the *praśasti* of the Sudarśana lake and the Nāsik inscription No. 18. I think, I must further add that the extinction of the intellectual life of the Indians during the said two centuries by the Scythians and other foreigners is improbable for other reasons also. In the first place, never had the foreigners brought under their sway, in the long run, more than a fifth part of India. To the east of the district of Mathurā, no sure indications of their rule have been found, and the reports of the Greeks ascribe to the Indo-Scythian kingdom no further extent in the east or south. In India proper, the kingdom could permanently possess only the Panjab, besides the high valleys of the Himālaya, the extreme west of North-Western Provinces, Eastern Rājputānā, Central India Agency, with Gwalior and Mālwā, Gujarat with Kāṭhiāwāṛ, as well as Sind. No doubt temporarily these limits are further extended in several cases, as the inscriptions from the reign of Nahapāna prove for the western border of the Deccan, and several traces of war might present themselves in further removed districts. The rulers of such a kingdom could indeed have exerted a considerable influence on the east of India, but they would never have been able to suppress the literary and scientific life of the Indians. Secondly, however,—and this is the most important point—the very will to show a hostile attitude towards the Indian culture was wanting in the foreign kings of the time, as the sayings and authentic documents inform us. They themselves, as

well as their comrades of the same race, were far inferior to the Indians in point af civilisation and culture, and the natural result was that they could not escape the influence of the Indian civilisation, but were themselves Hinduised. Their willingness to appropriate the culture of their subjects is shown by the very fact that the descendants or successors of the foreign conquerors immediately began to bear Indian names, even in the second generation. Huviṣka's successor is indeed a Ṣāhi ; but he is named Vāsudeva. Nahapāna's daughter is named Dakṣamitrā and his son-in-law, the son of Dinīka, a Śaka, is named Uṣavadāta or Usabhadāta, i.e., Ṛṣabhadatta. The son of Caṣṭana is Jayadāman. The leaning of the kings to the Indian systems of religion is equally indisputable. According to the Buddhist tradition, Kaniṣka is one of the greatest patrons of Buddhism and even became a Buddhist himself. The latter fact is indeed shown to be improbable by the inscriptions on his coins. On the other hand, there is no doubt that he built a *stūpa* and a *vihāra* at Puruṣapura-Peshawar. So also it is proved from the inscriptions that Huviṣka had founded a *vihāra* at Mathurā.[9] Uṣavadāta and his consort, according to the Nāsik and Karle inscriptions,[10] made grants to Buddhists and Brāhmaṇas without distinction, and the former, just like a pious Indian, carried out numerous works of public utility for the sake of merit. The Mathurā inscriptions further show that under Kaniṣka and his successors, by the side of Buddhism, many other systems of religion, like Jainism, were not also only tolerated, but enjoyed a high prosperity. These inscriptions as well as numerous archaeological finds also prove that the national Indian architecture and sculptures at Mathurā were of a high level, and one of the newest discoveries of Führer

9 Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, Vol. III, Plate XIV, No. 12.
10 *Arch. Surv. Rep., West. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 99 ff.

permits us to conclude that even the dramatic art was cultivated in the city of gods. Inscription No. 18, out of the collection prepared by me for the next number of the *Epigraphia Indica*,* says that 'the sons of the actors of Mathurā (*Mathurānam śailālakānam*) who were known as Cāndaka brothers, dedicated a stone-slab, for the redemption of their parents, at the holy place of the adorable Nāga-prince, Dadhikarṇa.' If Mathurā had its company of actors, then it would not have been in want of dramas. All these circumstances make it impossible, in my opinion, to look upon the time of Indian popular migration as a period of wild barbarism. The conditions appear to be in no way essentially different from those of the times when there were national rulers. The Indians of the north-west and the west had indeed to obey foreign suzerains and to pay them tributes and taxes; in return for which, however, they had the triumph of exerting sway on their subjugators, through their high culture, and of assimilating the same with themselves. The conditions necessary for literary activity must have been in existence, when Uṣavadāta noted his great deeds in a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit itself.[11] He would certainly have lent his ear and opened his purse to bards and *kavis* who would glorify him. These considerations appear to me to be of importance for the statements in the Girnār *praśasti* and heighten their significance.

A second proposition which Max Müller in addition to other scholars advocates,—that the real period of the bloom of artificial poetry is to be placed in the middle of the sixth century after Christ,—is contradicted by the testimony of the Allahābād *praśasti* of Hariṣeṇa, of other compositions of the Gupta period and of the Mandasor

* [Vol. II, pp. 195 ff.—D.C.S.]

11 *Arch. Surv. Rep., West. Ind., loc. cit.*, No. 5, lines 3 ff.

praśasti. These leave no doubt about the fact that there were not one but several such periods of the bloom of the *kāvya*, of which one fell before the time of Samudragupta, and that they also make it probable that Kālidāsa wrote before 472 A.D. The same conclusion is favoured by the fact that Fergusson's bold chronological combinations, on which is based the theory of the Indian Renaissance in the sixth century, have been shown to be insupportable by the researches of Fleet. The authentic documents going down to the year 533 A.D. know absolutely nothing about the Vikramāditya of Ujjain, whose existence is inferred or set up by new interpretations of the different legends, and who is reported to have driven away the Scythians from India and to have founded the Vikrama era in the year 544 A.D., dating it as far backwards as 600 years. On the contrary, they prove the following facts concerning Western India. Samudragupta Parākramāṅka, according to Fleet's inscription No. II, extended the kingdom of his father, at any rate as far as Erāṇ in the Central Provinces. His son Candragupta II Vikramāditya, according to No. III, conquered Mālwā before or in the year 400 A.D. and also possessed Mathurā. Candragupta's son, Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya, held fast these possessions, because, according to No. XVIII, he was the suzerain of the rulers of Daśapura-Mandasor, in the year 437 A.D. His son, Skandagupta Kramāditya or Vikramāditya, according to No. XIV, ruled over Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwāṛ, about 455-57 or 456-58 A.D. In his time, the Hūṇas came forth, against whom he made a successful stand, according to No. XIII. Later on, however, whether it was in his own reign which lasted at least till the year 467 or 468 A.D., or under his successors, Puragupta and Narasiṁhagupta,[12] the western-

12 See Hoernle, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 89, and Fleet, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 224. [Read *Pūrugupta* for *Puragupta.*—D.C.S.]

most possessions were lost and went over to the foreign race. In Nos. XXXVI and XXXVII, there appear the kings, Toramāṇa and Mihirakula,[13] as rulers of Erāṇ and Gwalior, and in No. XXXVII, the latter is said to have reigned for fifteen years. The end of the rule of Mihirakula in these districts is made known to us through Nos. XXXIII, XXXIV and XXXV, according to which he was defeated by king Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana before the year 533 A.D. These inscriptions represent Yaśodharman as a very powerful ruler who had brought under his sway not only Western India from Daśapura-Mandasor down to the ocean, but also large parts in the east and north.[14] In his possessions, Mālwā was naturally included, whose capital Ujjain lies only something like 70 English miles to the south of Daśapura. In No. XXXV, and in the two considerably early inscriptions, Nos. XVII and XVIII, the Mālava era is used, which is identical with the so-called Vikrama era beginning with 56-57 B.C.[15] These exceedingly important discoveries, which we owe to Fleet's zeal in collecting data, and his ingenuity prove the absolute untenableness of the Fergussonian hypothesis. Because they shew—(1) that the era of 56-57 B.C. was not founded in the sixth century, but was then in use under the name of the Mālava era for more than a century;[16] (2) that at that time, no Śakas

---

13 See also Fleet's article on Mihirakula, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, pp. 245 ff., and on Toramāṇa, *ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 225. With Hoernle (*op. cit.*, p. 96, note 2), I hold that Viṣṇuvardhana is a second name of Yaśodharman, as is shown by the grammatical construction.

14 [This king's claim of conquest of India is conventional and not historical—D.C.S.]

15 See also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, pp. 194 ff., and Vol. XIX, p. 56, in which latter place, Kielhorn has given the right explanation of the difficult expression *Mālavānāṁ°* or *Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti*. [The Vikrama era begins from 58-57 B.C.—D.C.S.]

16 As is quite clear, the Mālava era has suffered the same fate as the Śaka era and came to be known by another name, since its

could have been driven from Western India, inasmuch as the country had been conquered by the Guptas more than a hundred years ago; (3) that on the contrary, other foreign conquerors, the Hūṇas, were driven out[17] of Western India in the first half of the sixth century not, however, by a Vikramāditya, but by Yośodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana, and (4) that, therefore, there is no room at all in the sixth century, for a powerful Vikramāditya of Ujjain, whose exploits called forth a national upheaval in India.

Thus, when, with the fall of the Vikramāditya set up by Fergusson, it becomes no longer possible to place in the sixth century, on the same grounds, the writers, whom legends connect with a Vikramāditya, the view which holds that the leaders of the Indian poetic art belonged to this period, will be also compelled to support itself by other arguments and to produce a proof for every one of these writers in particular. What has been adduced, in this connection, about Kālidāsa—in whom alone we are interested here—is, in my opinion, not sufficient to make out even the bare probability of such a fixing of the age. The well-known but hardly accredited verse[18] which

---

origin was forgotten. The change of name appears in the Kaṇaswā inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 55 ff. Apart from the two doubtful documents, the oldest known Vikrama date is found in Hultzsch's Dholpur inscription, and corresponds to the 16th April, 842 A.D., as Kielhorn has shown, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 35.

17 If it occurs to any one to conjecture that the Hūṇas had caused an interruption in the literary activity of India, I bring to his notice the fact that both the inscriptions of the age of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula contain no mean composition and that their authors glorify the foreign kings as highly as if they had been national rulers.

18 I purposely speak of the verse only. For, in my opinion, it is not advisable to refer to the Gayā inscription translated by Ch. Wilkins (*As. Res.*, Vol. I, p. 284), but now lost, as a proof for the existence

mentions Kālidāsa as one of the nine jewels at the court of Vikramāditya, and which makes him a contemporary of the astronomer Varāhamihira, loses all its value. Vikramāditya referred to in the verse is, as the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* shows, the legendary founder of the era of 56-57 B.C. So long as the history of Western India was absolutely unknown, it was at least possible to conjecture that the writers named in the verse would have been contemporaries and lived under a Vikramāditya—whose time was wrongly put later—and that their actual age ought to have been inferred from the sure date of Varāhamihira. But now when we know that in the first half of the sixth century, there never existed a Vikramāditya of Ujjain, it naturally follows that the legend is the more defective. It would be more than a venture to hold as historically true what remains of the legend, namely, the simultaneity of the nine writers.

A second argument[19] which is based on Mallinātha's explanation of the *Meghadūta*, verse 14, can also hold little water, in that it requires us to assume many things, no doubt possible, but incapable of proof, and its conclusion opposed by important considerations. One must, to begin with, take it as proved that Mallinātha was right in asserting that, in the passage in question, Kālidāsa, in the word *dignāgānāṁ* referred to a hated opponent, further that this opponent is identical with the Buddhist teacher Dignāga, so also, that this latter was the pupil of

---

of a tradition of the Nine Jewels. Whosover compares the translation (cf. Murphy's *Travels in Portugal*) of the Cintra inscription by the same learned gentleman with the original will certainly agree with me in that his word is not sufficient to afford us the certainty that the Gayā inscription contained such a striking statement as that of the Nine Jewels.

19 *India, what can it teach us?*, pp. 300 ff.

Vasubhandhu or Asaṅga,[20] as the Buddhist tradition goes according to Tāranātha and Ratnadharmarāja. Then comes the last and the most questionable link in the chain, i.e., the assigning of the year 550 or so to the two brothers Vasubandhu and Asaṅga, which derives its main support from the untenable theory of the great Vikramāditya of the sixth century. This assumption, as Max Müller himself admits, is contradicted by a Chinese account, according to which, Kumārajīva translated the works of Vasubandhu in the year 404 A.D. The same is further contradicted by Bunyin Nanjio, that the same Kumārajīva translated the life of Vasubandhu, as well as in my opinion, by the existence of Chinese translations of Vasubandhu's works, in the years 508, 509, 508-11 (Bunyin Nanjio, *Catalogue*, Nos. 1168, 1194, 1233).[21]

A third argument[22] which is based on the assumption that Kālidāsa must have lived after Āryabhaṭa (who wrote about 499 A.D.) just because he shows an acquaintance with the scientific astronomy borrowed from the Greeks, has fallen down to the ground, owing to the results of the newest researches. Max Müller, in addition to the views of earlier scholars, held that Āryabhaṭa was the father of scientific Indian astronomy, and assigned the five Siddhāntas selected by Varāhamihira to the sixth century. But this is quite a mistake, according to Thibaut's thorough examination of the question in the introduction to

---

20 The two Tibetan writers contradict each other on this point Tāranātha says (*History of Buddhism*, p. 131) that Dignāga was a pupil of Vasubandhu. The second account belongs to Ratnadharmarāja. The older Chinese writers are not aware of this tradition

21 Beal, according to note 77 to his translation of the *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. I, p. 105, appears to have doubted the fact that Vasubandhu lived in the sixth century A.D. Cf. also p. 105, note 80, where Beal shows that Vasubandhu, according to Hiuen-tsang, lived 'in the middle of' or 'during the period of 350 B.C. 650 A.D.'

22 *India, what can it teach us?*, pp. 318 ff.

his edition of the *Pañcasiddhāntikā*. Of the five Siddhāntas, two, *Paitāmaha* and *Vāsiṣṭha*, have nothing to do at all with the astronomy borrowed from the Greeks. Of the remaining three, two, *Romaka* and *Pauliśa*, are more incomplete and older than the one ascribed to Sūrya, and all the three, in their form, go backwards even before Āryabhaṭa's works. They are also treated by Varāhamihira, with greater respect than Āryabhaṭa and other individual astronomers. These and other considerations lead Thibaut to fix the year 400 A.D. as the *terminus ad quem* for the *Romaka* and *Pauliśa*.[23] Thus it is no longer necessary to assign Kālidāsa to the sixth century just on the ground that he is acquainted with Greek astronomy. I must still further add that the assertion made by S.P. Paṇḍit and Max Müller that Kālidāsa in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, XIV. 40, traced the lunar eclipse to the shadow of the earth, rests on a misunderstanding. Kālidāsa there, speaks of the spots on the moon, which as the Purāṇas teach us, are called into being by a reflection of the earth.[24] As for the eclipse, he is quite orthodox, as is to be expected of an Indian poet.

A fourth argument, on which G. Huth lays some stress, in his investigation about Kālidāsa,[25] carried out with much labour, rests on the mention of the Hūṇas, amongst the

23 In a recent article on the *Romaka Siddhānta*, in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 133 ff., S. P. Dikshit goes still further and fixes the time of Ptolemy, 150 A.D., as the *terminus ad quem* for the older *Romaka*. Thibaut also says, *loc. cit.*, pp. lii-liii, that the *Romaka* can be older than Ptolemy, although there lies no conclusive ground for this supposition; cf., in this connection, Burgess, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 287.

24 Cf., for instance, *Viṣṇudharmottara*, I. 29. 16f.—
tvad-bimbe nirmale pṛthvī sa-śaila-vana-kānanā | 16
śaś-ākṛtiḥ sadā dṛśyā śaśa-lakṣm-āsyato='nagha |
ten=eva kāraṇena tvam=ucyase mṛga-lāñchana || 17

25 *On the Age of Kālidāsa*, pp. 30 ff. (Inaugural Dissertation), Berlin, 1890.

frontier peoples of India, in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV. 68., Huth thinks that it can be assumed that Kālidāsa transferred the conditions of his time to that of Raghu, and that by the Hūṇas are meant, the White Huns. These possessed Kābul twice, once from the end of the second century B.C. to the end of the second century A.D., and again from the beginning of the fifth to the end of the sixth century. Now as it is impossible on various grounds that Kālidāsa should have lived at the time of the first possession, so, Huth further concludes, he must have belonged to the second period, and that naturally the sixth century should be the *terminus ad quem.* The information provided by the Gupta inscriptions, regarding the history of the Hūṇas in India, would very much modify this conclusion. But it is not at all necessary to go into further details, for there is no difficulty in showing the improbability of the very first proposition in the argument, which has not been proved. Indian poets, even when describing the triumphs of historical kings, their very masters and patrons, are frequently quite inaccurate in their geographical and ethnographical accounts, and instead of giving actual facts, they take their stand on the traditional accounts in the epics, Purāṇas and other older works that describe *digvijayas.* Thus Vākpati (about 740 A.D.) makes his master and hero, Yaśovarman of Kanauj, to conquer the Pārasīkas, although the Persian empire was then no longer in existence. Similarly, Bilhaṇa, in the *Vikramāṅkacarita*, XVIII. 34, describes Ananta of Kashmir as conquering the Śakas, and further in 53-57, his son Kalaśa, as conquering the kingdom of the Amazons (*strī-rājya*) after a ride through the ocean of sands, as well as visiting the Kailāsa, the Mānasa lake, and Alakā the city of the Yakṣas. In the face of these facts, it is hard to believe that Kālidāsa, instead of following, as a good *kavi* is supposed to do, the

authority of the lists of peoples in the *Mahābhārata* or of the *Bhuvana-vinyāsa* in the Purāṇas, should have occupied himself with the historico-geographical investigations regarding the conditions of the frontier peoples of his time. If we look into his works more carefully, we shall find that they contain much that points to his having made use of the sources mentioned above. The whole of the *digvijaya* contains no names which are not also mentioned in the Purāṇas on the same or similar occasions. It also mentions, side by side with peoples like the Pārasikas (verse 60) and Yavanas (verse 61), the Hūṇas (verse 68) and Kāmbojas (verse 69), which can never justly belong to the time of the poet, not even to a single period of time whatsoever. The Greeks have never been simultaneous neighbours with the Persians; and surely the Greeks have never possessed the North-West Frontier of India in years after the birth of Christ.[26] Further, even if the Hūṇas rushed into India, through Kābul, and possessed the country, still it is not intelligible how a writer who took his stand on historic facts can mention both the subjugators and the subjugated, side by side, as independent peoples.

As for other so-called arguments for the supposition that Kālidāsa belonged to the sixth century, I pass them over; because they are open to similar and even greater objections than those discussed above. I do not believe that the question of the time of Kālidāsa and of other leaders of Indian poetic art, whose dates have not been fixed by actual historical documents, will make an essential advance, by such methods as have been followed up till now, by most of the Sanskritists. In order to arrive at

---

26 [For the Greeks in records of the second and third centuries, see Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1965 ed., pp. 177, 204, 525. For foreign rule in Eastern India, Cs. Sircar, Some *Problems of Kuṣāṇa and Rājpūt History*, pp. 52 ff.—D.C.S.]

certain conclusions, we must thoroughly investigate the language, style and poetical techniques of single works and compare them with those of works whose dates have been known with certainty or with approximate definiteness, and of epigraphical documents, as well as with the canons laid down in the older manuals of poetics. If we will extend the scope of our work to the epics also, we will be able to have quite a complete picture of the gradual growth of Indian poesy. Such investigations, of which a beginning has been made, especially in the works of Jacobi, naturally fall outside the limit of this essay whose only aim is to point out, in a general way, the significance of the study of inscriptions for the *kāvya* literature.

LECTURES AT THE CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY

XIII[1]

Lecturer : Mr. Robert F. Bussabarger, University of Missouri. Columbia, Missouri, U.S.A.
Subject : The Makara Motif in Indian Art.
Date : 19. 12. 1968.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair) ; Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Sri D. K. Biswas. M.A.; Dr. D. R. Das. M.A., D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A., Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.: Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A.. D.Phil.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Dr. Sm. A. Ray, M.A., D.Phil.; Sm. A. Majumdar, M.A.: Sri D. P. Ghosh, M.A.; and others.

Summary : Mr. R. F. Bussabarger discussed the metaphysical significance and gradual evolution of the Makara motif. He thought that the *makara,* an aquatic animal, was a symbol of the waters and the *kīrtimukha,* another popular motif, stood for fire. A combination of the two motifs represented the primordial energy that is the life and force in Nature. Mr. Bussabarger referred to the first appearance of the *makara* on the facade of the Lomaśa-ṛṣi cave in the Barabar hill near Gaya. There the animal is not very much different from a crocodile. The scroll spout and open jaws are at once suggestive of this association. This indicated, in Mr. Bussabarger's opinion, that the *makara* represented the earth. The motif occurs again at Bharhut where it is shown with a spiral tail. Gradually, *makara* began to assimilate some characteristics of the fish. Thus, at Mathurā, it appears with a fish-tail and even with fish-scales. During the Gupta period, the spout of the *makara* is found curled under the throat. Such a type also occurs at Ajanta. In the next phase of evolution, the *makara* gets a floriated tail of flamy shape. Now the animal is no longer a biped, but has turned into a quadruped. In the art of the Hoysalas, similar forms are to be met with frequently. Outside India, in Indonesia, *makara* is shown with a foliage in the tail.

Often the *makara* is associated with the *kīrtimukha.* In such a

---

[1] Continued from Vol. II, pp. 237-49 (VII-XII).

combined type, the flames in the shape of scroll or foliage are seen emerging from two sides of the jaws of the *kīrtimukha*, their end becoming *makara*. The flames, in Mr. Bussabarger's opinion, symbolise the flow of life connecting earth, i.e. *makara*, and sky, i.e *kīrtimukha*. Mr. Bussabarger also drew attention to some other motifs associated with the *makara*. Thus he referred to the *kāla-makara-toraṇa*, the cloud elephant and *makara*, the cloud-horse and *makara*, the winged cow and *makara*, the sea-horse and *makara*, the *puṇyaghaṭa* and *makara*, and the water-elephant and *makara*. Mr. Bussabarger thought that the *makara* or the sea-monster swallowing an elphant symbolised the unity of the terrestial and celestial worlds.

The *makara* association was traced in other spheres also. Reference in this connection was made to the *Makara-saṅkrānti*, the Poṅgal, the 10th Zodiac sign (capricorn), Kubera in one of his postures, Varuṇa, etc. At Amarāvatī, the *makara* occurs in association with Lakṣmī. There a warrior is seen securing pearl from the mouth of the *makara*.

The lecture was illustrated with lantern slides.

Discussion : Summarising Mr. Bussabarger's discussion, Sri D. P. Ghosh, who took the chair after Prof. D. C. Sircar had left the meeting for an urgent business elsewhere, thanked the speaker for his interesting lecture and for pursuing the study of the *makara* motif which J. Ph. Vogel and himself had initiated.

Regarding the interpretation of one of Mr. Bussabarger's illustrations, Sri R. K. Bhattacharya referred to the *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari (written in the 6th or 7th century A.D.), and suggested that the illustration indicates how the sound comes out of the mouth and moves forward to all different directions in the form of a soundwave. It was, however, felt unlikely that such an abstract philosophical idea would be the subject of a sculpture.

Questions were also raised about Mr. Bussabarger's metaphysical interpretations of the *makara* motif. The reason for representing the earth or water by the *makara* was inexplicable. It was further pointed out that the *makara*, which was a combination of fish and crocodile, appeared as such already at Bharhut. So far as the *kīrtimukha* was concerned, it was not understood why a lion head should be taken to stand for the sky. A few omissions were noticed in Mr. Bussabarger's collection ; e.g. the representation of the *makara* on the Gupta coins.

XIV

Lecturer : Dr. John Morris, University College, London.
Subject : The Role of Common Man in Religion and Government in Ancient and Medieval Europe.
Date : 27. 12. 1968.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Dr. S. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.: Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. B. P. Mishra, M.A.: Sri D. K. Chakrabarty, M.A.: Sm. C. R. Sengupta, M.A.; and others.

Summary : Dr. John Morris started by pointing out that Roman society should be viewed as a continuation of Hellenic society. The early Athenians had retained the old customs of the Egyptians and Mesopotamians, but not their religion. Theirs was not a theocratic society, but a society wherein every adult male citizen had equal right. The common man could no longer be befooled and hypnotized by the hypocritical, power-crazy and irresponsible priests. The Athenian assembly, which met once a week, was a truly democratic institution in which every member could express his view without outside pressure. Unlike Sparta (where the assembly met only once in six months) and many modern democracies, Athens did not create a class of professional politicians. The people, if they so wanted, had the power to overrule the decision taken in the assembly of their elected representatives, and in support of his argument. Dr. Morris gave an illustration. There was no separate institution of judges; instead, a committee consisting of 500 jurors was in charge of the administration of justice The large number precluded the possibility of bribing. Both the prosecution and the defence had to accept the decision of the majority of the jurors.

The Roman system. Dr. Morris pointed out, was more aristocratic in nature and only the affluent could afford to become a politician or judge. With the gradual spread of Christianity, however, the voice of the neglected and the oppressed became more and more audible. The poor found in the figure of Christ their friend, philosopher and guide. The Bible became for them a never-ending source of joy, inspiration and wisdom. Repeated and terrible persecutions, which began from the time of Nero, could not halt the progress of Christianity in the Roman empire. The tyrants clenched their fists, but in vain. Emperors came and went; but the voice of Christ never for a moment ceased to inspire the insulted and injured. The aristocratic structure gradually crumbled and, by the beginning of the 4th century, Christianity became the state religion of Rome. According to Dr. Morris, emperor Constantine the Great could discern in that religion the only hope of moral solidarity in the great welter of narrow views prevailing in his kingdom. Curiously enough the Christians who had fled to the deserts as a result of persecution did

not come back when Christianity became the official religion of the empire.

With the gradual spread of Papal influence, the original teaching of Christ was in danger. But, Dr. Morris observed, a reform movement, which was started by an unknown native of Britain in the 5th century, saved Christianity. In his Latin treatise, that anonymous writer preached a new and novel kind of socialism. According to Dr. Morris, all the later reform movements in the Christian world including that of Martin Luther were inspired by the writings of the said unknown Briton. In this connexion, he referred to the Celtic tradition which also vitally affected the thought and culture of Europe. Dr. Morris concluded by saying that, in the Occident, the voice of the common man always triumphed over the arrogance of the privileged.

Discussion : Prof. D. C. Sircar, while thanking Dr. Morris for his learned lecture, observed that the early Indian writers appear to have made a distinction between the mob and the leaders of thought guiding the common men. In this connection, he quoted from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* to show how the mob was regarded as no better than beasts (*paśu-prāyāḥ pṛthag-janāḥ*). He referred to the election of kings like Gopāla, Nandivarman II and Brahmapāla by the people, meaning really the high officers and men of position. Prof. Sircar further observed that, unlike in the West, the church or temple organisations in India were never politically powerful.

Sri R. K. Bhattacharya wanted to know the time when the Indians first came into contact with the Greeks. Prof. Sircar replied that the contact was first established during the rule of the Achaemenian dynasty in Persia. Dr. D. R. Das doubted a remark of Dr. Morris and said that the subjects of the Roman empire might have been attracted to Christianity not out of a desire for a religious unity, but for its simplicity. He thought that in the lower stratum of the society, such a consciousness was very much unlikely to have existed. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee observed that Dr. Morris had not indicated the extent of the influence of Mithraism on Christianity. Dr. Morris replied that Mithraism had actually affected the Christian religion in its earlier stages, but that the subject was not within the scope of his lecture.

XV

Lecturer : Prof. A. L. Basham, Australian National University, Canberra.
Subject : Ancient Indian Ideas of Time and History.
Date : 26. 2. 1969.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LLB., D.Phil.;

Dr. S. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. K. K. Dasgupta, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. Sm. P. Niyogi, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. Sm. A. Ray, M.A., D.Phil.; Sm. C. Sengupta, M.A.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M. A.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sm. S. Bhattacharya, M.A.; and others.

Summary : Dr. A. L. Basham referred to the chronicles written in Sanskrit which Kalhaṇa consulted in writing his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in the 12th century, but were later forgotten due to lack of popularity. The Pali texts of Ceylon like the *Dīpavaṁsa, Mahāvaṁsa* and *Cūlavaṁsa* are historical chronicles. Historical writing, according to Prof. Basham, was never popular in ancient India. Referring to such works as the *Harṣacarita, Vikramāṅkadevacarita* and *Gaüḍavaha,* Prof. Basham observed that, in spite of their literary merit, they are poor in historical value. But the Indians, although lacking a correct sense of history, had a strong sense of the past and were fond of looking back to the golden age or Kṛta-yuga when everyone was happy and blessed and there were no serious problems of life.

Turning then to the Indian conception of time, Prof. Basham referred to their unsatisfactory and unscientific views about the universe and the Yugas. The conception of *yuga,* according to Prof Basham, was based on the ancient Indian game of dice and was really fantastic and absurd. The idea of the Kali-yuga developed in the early centuries of the Christian era, and it was believed that the world would be a happier place after the appearance of Kalkin, the tenth Avatāra of Viṣṇu, who would destroy the barbarians and foreigners.

For the ancient Indians, *Itihāsa* had a moral purpose. In Prof. Basham's opinion, the tradition of kings was originally secular in character, but was later modified by the priests. Referring to the epics and the Purāṇas, Prof. Basham questioned their value as works of history. The genealogical lists preserved in them fail to give authentic and detailed information about the kings of antiquity as they are confused and muddled. Very few of the epic heroes are mentioned in the Vedic literature and early Buddhist works, and this fact goes to show that they were more imaginary than real figures. Even the chapters dealing with kings and tribes of the historical period are defective. Prof. Basham then added that the Buddhist had a better sense of history than the Hindus. The people of ancient India, like the Shakespearean audience, had a far greater respect for the heroes of the golden age than actual historical monarchs of the recent past.

[Prof. Basham's lecture has been published in the *Prācyavidyā-taraṅgiṇī*, ed. D. C. Sircar, pp. 49 ff.]

Discussion : Prof. D. C. Sircar agreed with Prof. Basham on many of the points raised by him. Regarding Kashmir, he pointed out that chronicle-writing started there from the Purāṇa ascribed to Nīlamuni who could not have been later than the Gupta age, and that eleven chronicles were written by the 12th century A.D. when Kalhaṇa wrote what he calls a poem. In Prof. Sircar's opinion, Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, the chronicle of the Ikṣvāku kings, suggests that chronicle-writing, based on epico-Purāṇic sources, was not unknown elsewhere in India. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee observed that the epics and the Purāṇas should be examined as was done by Pargiter. Dr. Chatterjee drew attention to the first two books of the *Mahābhārata* offering reasonable reign-periods of kings like Śāntanu, Citrāṅgada, Vicitravīrya, Yudhiṣṭhira and Parīkṣit. Prof. Basham and Prof. Sircar did not agree with Dr. Chatterjee in respect of the *Mahābhārata* as a source of political history. Prof. Basham drew attention to the Purāṇic account of the total reign-period of the Andhra kings which was highly exaggerated. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay pointed out that Prof. Basham had not said anything about the Jain conception of history. Prof. Basham replied that he was not inclined to attach much importance to it. Prof. Sircar remarked that the Jain tradition regarding the chronology of the pre-Gupta age is often absurd.

XVI

Lecturer : Dr. G. M. Bongard-Levin, Senior Scientific Officer, Institute of Peoples of Asia, Moscow.

Subject : Cultural Connections between India and Central Asia in the Ancient Period.

Date : 5. 3. 1969.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. Sm. P. Niyogi, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Dr. Sm. Sukumari Bhattacharya; and others.

Summary. : Dr. Bongard-Levin referred to the popularity of Indological studies in Russia and, in this connection, mentioned some recent Russian publications including the translations of the *Arthaśāstra* and *Manusmṛti*. Then he stated how a number of archaeological explorations have brought to light several unknown cultures in Soviet

Central Asia. The antiquities discovered in the Central Asian Republic of Turkmenia, Dr. Bongard-Levin pointed out, have established close links between that area and the Harappan civilisation. The antiquities include silver seals, terracottas and metal objects.

In the historical period beginning from the days of the Achaemenian emperors, Dr. Bongard-Levin observed, the contact between Central Asia and North-West India became more intimate. Central Asian tribes like the Śakas, Pahlavas and Kuṣāṇas entered into India in wave after wave and became gradually merged in the Indian population. Most of them accepted Indian religions. During the Kuṣāṇa period, Buddhism became the dominant religion of Central Asia. It is in this period that we notice the influence of the Gandhāra School of art on the art of Central Asia.

Dr. Bongard-Levin illustrated his lecture by a number of slides. He showed a magnificient sculpture representing a harp-player, which is Indian in design. Some other figures of the Buddha and Boddhisattvas, illustrated by Dr. Bongard-Levin, reveal the influence of Gandhāra art, although they are not free entirely from the local bearing. In some figures, the influence of Hellenistic art was perceptible. Dr. Bongard-Levin pointed out that, before the 4th century A.D., it was Bactria that affected the art of Central Asia; but after that time, the Gandhāra art of India became predominant over other influences. The discovery of Buddhist monasteries in Central Asia reveals how the local artists and architects assimilated outside influences. Some Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions have also been unearthed.

The cultural contact continued in the post-Kuṣāṇa age. The discovery of some paintings and sculptures of the Indian type shows the influence of Ajanta and Bharhut. The figures discovered have the same clothing and ornaments as we find in Indian sculptures. Among the paintings illustrated by Dr. Bongard-Levin, there was a hunting scene with the hunter on the back of an elephant, which was clearly Indian in inspiration. The most remarkable find of the post-Kuṣāṇa age is a Buddhist monastery of the seventh or eighth century A.D. A good number of clay-sculptures have been discovered from the ruins of the said monastery. But the most remarkable single object discovered from the monastery is a huge figure of the Buddha which clearly marks the fusion of local genius and outside influence. Dr. Bongard-Levin further drew attention to the fact that, along with art and religion, India gave to Central Asia her medical science, astronomy and script. A number of fragments of Sanskrit works belonging to the *Sarvāstivāda* school have also come to light from Central Asia. Dr. Bongard-Levin concluded by observing that civilisations of both Central Asia and India remained distinct in spite of close links.

[The lecture has been published in the *Prācyavidyā-taraṅgiṇī*, pp. 87 ff.]

Discussion : Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that discovery of antiquities of the Harappan type in Central Asia is indeed of great importance. It shows that the prehistoric culture of the Indus valley was not only linked with Mesopotamia, as is usually believed, but also with Central Asia. He further observed that the harp-player illustrated by Dr. Bongard-Levin is not associated, as supposed, with the conception of *pañcamahāśabda* which was understood in Kashmir in Uttarāpatha in a purely administrative sense. Prof. Sircar further observed that the Gandhāra art cannot be characterised as Kuṣāṇa art and that the Kuṣāṇas were not responsible for the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia. Indeed, very few of the Kuṣāṇa kings were staunch Buddhists. He wondered why there is no Chinese influence on Kuṣāṇa coins although, according to Chinese evidence, the Kuṣāṇas originally hailed from Chinese territory. According to him, the entire culture of the Kuṣāṇas was a borrowed one as they were originally a nomandic, barbarous tribe, having no cultural traditions of their own. Dr. Sukumari Bhattacharya asked the reason of the absence of foreign themes in Indian art. Prof. Sircar thought that influence of Indian religion and art on peoples of other countries is more in evidence than foreign influence in Indian religion and art. Dr. D. R. Das observed that, in the famous figure of 'Heracles and the Lion', we have a distinct foreign theme. In answering a question put by Dr. A. N. Lahiri, Dr. Bongard-Levin remarked that Buddhism probably entered Central Asia from Kashmir. As regards the nationality of the Kuṣāṇas, he said that they were of East Iranian stock. Prof. Sircar observed that, in Sanskrit literature, the Kuṣāṇas are described as Turuṣka or Turk, while Al-Bīrūnī calls them Turks of Tibetan origin. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay asked the time when Buddhism entered China. Dr. Bongard-Levin answered that it was not before the 2nd century A.D.

XVII

Lecturer : Dr. G. S. Gai, Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore.

Subject : Recent Epigraphical Discoveries in India.

Date : 6. 3. 1969.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair) ; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M.A.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; and others.

Summary : Dr. G. S. Gai dealt with the historical importance of epigraphical records recently discovered in India. He referred to the Aśokan inscriptions in Greek and in Greek and Aramaic from Kandahar and fragmentary copies of the Minor Rock Edict I from Ahraura (Mirzapur District, Uttar Pradesh) and from New Delhi. In this connection, Dr. Gai also noticed a Brāhmī inscription from Guntupally (West Godavari District) recording the grant of a *maṇḍapa* by Culagoma, the *Sirisaṃdesālekhaka* of *Mahārāja Kaliṅgādhipati Mahisakādhipati* Mahāmeghavāhana. Dr. Gai supported the suggestion that the said ruler is identical with king Khāravela of the Hāthigumphā inscription. He then referred to the discovery of Brāhmī inscriptions (belonging to the first three centuries of the Christian era) at Sannati, a Buddhist site in the Gulbarga District of Mysore, mentioning *Atika*, *Śivatanaka*, *Gaṅganaka*, *Sanati*, etc. Anohter Brāhmī inscription mentioned by Dr. Gai, engraved on a crystal intaglio (now in the British Museum, London) belonging to *Mahārāja* Avarighsa, was being published in the *Epigraphia India*.

Dr. Gai also referred to a Prakrit inscription from Nagarjunikonda belonging to the 24th regnal year of the Ikṣvāku king Vīrapuruṣadatta whose latest date known so far was the 20th regnal year. He referred to the discovery of Tamil inscriptions in Brāhmī characters, two of them belonging to the 1st century B.C., 6 to the 1st century A.D. and one to the 3rd century A.D. He further spoke of two new inscriptions from Mathurā, one belonging to king Vāsudeva, specifically called 'Kuṣāṇa' and dated in the year 93 of the Kaniṣka era and the other dated in the year 125 of the Gupta era (i.e. 444-45 A.D.) referring to the reign of Kumāragupta I and to the city of Mathurā. Another Brāhmī inscription of the 3rd century A.D., found about 50 years ago at Pauni (Nagpur District), mentions *Mahākhattavakumāra* Rupiamma. Dr. Gai said that the present inscription shows the extension of Kṣatrapa rule in the Nagpur region. He further referred to the Temburu grant of the Pitṛbhakta king *Mahārāja* Umavarman, issued from Siṁhapura in the 40th year of his reign. The ruler is described as *Bappa-pāda-bhakta* and *Kaliṅg-ādhipati*.

Speaking about the Devnimori relic casket inscription of Rudrasena, dated in the Kathika year 127, Dr. Gai observed that the era is identical with the Kalacuri-Cedi era of 248-49 A.D. The next epigraph noticed by him was the Hisse-Borala inscription of Vākāṭaka Devasena dated in year 3027 of Dharmasuta (Yudhiṣṭhira) and in year 380 of the Śaka era, which is the earliest known inscription dated specifically in the era of the Śakas.

Dealing with the Sakrepatana grant of Pallava Siṁhavarman mentioning the Valvilli-agrahāra situated in the Sendraka-rājya and granted by the king during the 41st year of his reign, issued from Maudgalitaṭa, Dr. Gai referred to the Vesanta grant of the

same Pallava king (Simhavarman) dated in his 19th regnal year issued from Kāñcīpurī which Dr. Gai was inclined to locate in the Nellur-Guntur region after Sri Aravamuthan.

Other records noticed by Dr. Gai included the Vesali plate of the Candras of Arakan (Burma) in East Indian characters of the 6th century A.D.; the Jayarampur plate of Gopacandra of the 6th century A.D. mentioning *Mahārājādhirāja* Gopacandra, son of Devacandra; the Nagarjunikonda inscription of Vijaya Ṣātakarṇi, dated in his 6th regnal year; Vākāṭaka Pravarasena's grant issued in his 29th regnal year, and the copper-plate grant of queen Vakulamahādevī of Orissa.

Discussion : Prof. D. C. Sircar was inclined to add to Dr. Gai's list the recently discovered fragmentary inscription of Caṣṭana dated in the year 11 indicating that Caṣṭana ruled side by side with Nahapāna. Prof. Sircar further observed that Dr. Gai's identification of the Kathika era with the Kalacuri reckoning is unsatisfactory because the use of the Kalacuri era is not expected in the Kathiawar region. The Western Kṣatrapas used the Ṣaka era and the same era must have been employed in the Ṣaka inscription from Devnimori. He further observed that the mention of Gopacandra's father as Devacandra was due to a wrong reading of the epigraphic text. Referring to the Sannati inscriptions, Dr. D. R. Das said that, besides personal names, the inscriptions also refer to official designations. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay referred to Prof. Sircar's paper on the Aśokan inscriptions from Kandahar meant for the Yavana and Kamboja subjects of the Maurya emperor, read at the inter-university seminar held in February, 1969, at the Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC.

XVIII

Lecturer : Prof. Ludo Rocher, Chairman, Oriental Studies, The Graduate School of Arts and Science, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

Subject : Ancient India as reflected in the Works of the Greeks and Romans.

Date : 4.12.1969.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D. Phil.; Dr. Sm. A. Ray, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. Pal, M.A., Ph.D.; Sri D. K. Chakraborty, M.A.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. N.N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sm. A. Majumdar, M.A.; Sri R. K. Billorey,

M.A.; Sri M. S. Mohana Nehru, M.A.; Sm. A. Bandyopadhyay, B.A.; and others.

Summary : Prof. Ludo Rocher prefaced his talk by referring to a lady who traced certain similarities between Virgil's work and the *Mahābhārata* and considered it possible that the Latin poet had an indirect aquaintance with the Great Epic as, in his time, there was no dearth of Indian merchants in Rome. Prof. Rocher then pointed out how, in the works of the Classical writers on India, one finds a mixture of truth and imagination and how this was because most of them wrote from hearsay.

The Classical accounts about the physical features of Indians are correct, and some of the observations about Indian society and the caste system generally tally with those given in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. Megasthenes refers to the white-skinned priestly class (i.e. the Brāhmaṇas) who did not do any physical labour. His observation regarding the Indian seasons is also not wrong.

Speaking about the wrong observations which outnumber the correct statements, Prof. Rocher observed that they might be divided into two classes, viz. due to incomplete and inefficient observation and to prejudice and wrong notions. The Greeks and Romans tried to explain unusual phenomena against their own back-ground and often exercised their imagination. Most of them were soldiers or traders and not scholars with discerning power, and this explains, according to Prof. Rocher, their statement that there was no science in India excepting the science of medicine. This was also due to the fact, as Prof. Rocher observed, that the early Europeans did not know the Indian language. Thus they have left the impression that the Indians were ignorant of the art of writing, even though writing had reached a developed and sophisticated form in the Mauryan age. Many things of the country appeared grotesque and miraculous to the Classical writers. Often they describe things in superlative terms. India is said to be as large as the rest of Asia and the Indians as five cubits in stature. The Indians have been described as the largest and most incorruptible among all the peoples in the world. The animals are described in hyperbolic language. The accounts bristle with conflicting statements, and the reason is that India was to the Classical writers a land where everything was possible. According to one account, an average Indian lives for only 40 years, but according to another, for 130 years. In fine, we may say that fable and fiction are more evident than facts in the early European accounts of India.

Discussion : Prof. D. C. Sircar referred to Prof. Rocher's lecture as exceedingly interesting. He observed that medicine as the only science of the people is mentioned by the Classical writers only in

respect of the kingdom of Mousikanos in Sind (cf. *Ambaṣṭhānām cikitsitam* in Manu, X. 47). He pointed out that the Ionian Greeks and the Indians of the North-West were both subjects of the Achaemenian empire since the close of the sixth century B.C. and must have come in contact with each other at the Achaemenian capital and the trade and administrative centres of the empire. That the ancient Greeks had some knowledge of the epico-Purāṇic traditions is obvious; but, Prof. Sircar said, they have even correctly translated some Sanskrit expressions, and this may exhibit some knowledge of the Indian language. He referred in this connection to the name of the people called Karṇaprāvaraṇa which the Greeks correctly translated as 'the people who wrapped themselves up in their own ears'.

Prof. Rocher agreed with Prof. Sircar's opinion and added that, according to one Classical authority (Arrian), 153 kings ruled in India before the invasion of Alexander for 6042 years while, according to another (Pliny), they ruled for 6451 years and this suggests that they had some knowledge of the Purāṇas. Dr. A. N. Lahiri said that the absence of slavery in India referred to in the Classical accounts is due to the fact that the Indians and Greeks had different ideas about slavery. He also observed that the reference to 'ant-gold' has its parallel in the Indian sources.

Lt. Col. G. L. Bhattacharya suggested that Alexander's spies told him not to proceed beyond the Hydaspes and gave him exaggerated and false reports about the military strength of the king of the interior country. With reference to the exaggerated statements, Dr. A. K. Chatterjee observed that even in the 16th century, Shakespeare makes fanciful statements about India and her wealth. Prof. Rocher observed that such exaggerations are found even in modern Western writings on India. Prof. Sircar pointed out that similar exaggerations are noticed also in the Indians' writings on the West, and referred to a paper on 'Discovery, in America, of a Śiva temple which is more than a lakh of years old' appearing once in the celebrated Bengali periodical entitled *Bhāratavarṣa*.

MONTHLY SEMINARS AT THE CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY

XXII[1]

Thursday, the 18th April, 1968.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair) ; Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sm. C. Sengupta, M.A.; Sm. S. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Sm. A. Majumdar, M.A.; Dr. Sm. Bela Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; and others.

Proceedings : Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read a note entitled 'Oedipus Complex and a Story in the *Brahma Purāṇa*' in which he gave an account of a legend of incest occurring in Chapter 92 of the *Brahma Purāṇa*. As the story goes, a widow named Mahī became a prostitute and unknowingly began to live with her own son. On the secret being revealed, a dip in the holy waters of the Gautamī (Godāvarī) washed away their sin. Dr. Chatterjee referred, in this connection, to the well-known Greek legend of king Oedipus and pointed out that the story of the *Brahma Purāṇa* is not likely to be influenced by the Greek legend of Oedipus. He further observed that the former, unlike the latter, does not end tragically. Dr. Chatterjee was of the opinion that, in the whole range of ancient Indian literature, the present story of the *Brahma Purāṇa* is the only evidence which directly speaks of incestuous relations between mother and son.

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that other tales of incestuous relationship between mother and son are not unknown in early Indian literature and referred to a story in the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*. He further pointed out that modern stories of the type of Mahī are even now told. Sri D. Mukherjee also thought that there might be other stories of the same type in the vast range of Indian literature.

[The note has been published above, Vol. I, pp. 110-11.]

2. Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya read his paper on 'The Universality of the Concept of Ardhanārīśvara'. He observed that the idea that the first human or divine pair had originally formed a single andro-

[1] Continued from Vol. II, pp. 250-69 (XIII-XXI).

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF ARCHAEOLOGY
1 APR 1974

gynous being separated later into two personalities is noticed in the myths and legends of different nations. Dr. Bhattacharya referred to some androgyne deities from different parts of the world and observed that the conception may have resulted from the fusion of the god and goddess cults even though more important is the fusion of the rival sociological ideas connected with them, and this must have taken place at a very early age.

Commenting on Dr. Bhattacharya's paper, Prof. D. C. Sircar drew attention to the fundamental difference between the two groups of deities, viz. a group of two created out of one and another group of two joined into one. According to Prof. Sircar, Hara and Pārvatī are not generally stated to have been joined into Ardhanārīśvara for the purpose of procreation which underlies the conception of the androgynous deities. He also observed that the concept of Ardhanārīśvara does not appear to have any sociological basis. Dr. Bhattacharya argued that goddesses were the products of matriarchal societies and that, in Semitic religion, it is found that, with the social change from matriarchy to patriarchy, the goddesses were changed to gods.

3. Prof. D. C. Sircar read his paper on the Matrimonial Relations between Candragupta and Seleucus, in which he comented on the views of George Macdonald in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 431. Macdonald believed that, India being a land of caste, a *jus connubii* between the two peoples is unthinkable. In Prof. Sircar's opinion, this idea is certainly wrong because the Hinduised Nonaryans (like the Mongoloid Moriya clan to which Candragupta belonged) and the Indianised foreigners (like the Yavanas or Greeks, the Śakas or Scythians and others) were both regarded as degraded Kṣatriyas by Manu (X. 44) while Gautama makes the Yavanas offsprings of Kṣatriya male and Śūdra female and Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* takes the Yavanas and Śakas to be pure Śūdra. In a well-known epico-Purāṇic story, the Yavanas are represented as the descendants of a son of king Yayāti of the lunar race. Prof. Sircar also drew attention to marriages between the Śātavāhanas and Ikṣvākus on the one hand and the Śakas of Western India on the other. Attention was also drawn by Prof. Sircar to the prevalence of *anuloma* marriage according to which males of the upper classes could take their wives from the lower grades. In this connection, Prof. Sircar pointed out that, in ancient India and also in the subsequent ages, there was no consideration of caste in the matter of matrimonial alliance between royal families and cited many cases including those of the marriage of Prabhāvatiguptā of the Non-Brāhmaṇa Gupta dynasty with the Brāhmaṇa Rudrasena II of the Vākāṭaka family and of the Gupta princes in the families of the Licchavis, Nāgas and Kadambas. Prof. Sircar concluded that Candragupta Maurya's marriage with a female

member of Seleucus' family could have nothing abnormal in it and that the evidence of the Classical writers on this point should not be ignored.

Sri D. K. Biswas wanted to know whether the ancient Indians made any distinction between the Greeks settled in India and living in other countries. Prof. Sircar did not think it probable because, he said, there is evidence to show that the foreigners retained the peculiarities of their social and cultural life for a long time after their settlement in India and referred to the *udīcya-veśa* of the Śaka queen of an Ikṣvāku king of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. On the point, Sri D. Mukherjee agreed with Prof. Sircar.

[The note was published above, Vol. I, pp. 87 ff.]

4. Dr. A. N. Lahiri read a paper on a silver coin issued by the Tripurā king Vijayamāṇikya, the legend on which could not be deciphered by earlier numismatists. He was inclined to read a passage as *Durgā-pade vijayī*. Prof. Sircar observed that the reading did not offer any satisfactory sense in the context of the legend and requested Dr. Lahiri to concentrate on this aspect of the problem and come to a satisfactory solution.

XXIII

Thursday, the 11th July, 1968.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. Sm. P. Niyogi, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. K. K. Ganguli, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. K. K. Dasgupta, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Sm. C. Sengupta, M.A., LL.B.; and others.

Proceedings : Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read his paper entitled 'Sun Worship in the Epics'. According to the author, the poets of both the epics regarded the Sun-god not only as a boon-granting, auspicious deity, but also as a warrior and malignant god: his romantic aspect is also not forgotten, especially in the *Mahābhārata*. Dr. Chatterjee referred to the association of Sūrya with animals like the horse and cow. The worship of the image of this god was probably not unknown. Like the seers of the *Ṛgveda*, the poets of the two epics have idealized the Sun-god from both the imaginative and artistic points of view. Dr. Chatterjee concluded by observing that the Sun-god does not enjoy exactly the same position in the epics as he does in the Vedas.

A discussion on the paper was initiated by Sri D. Mukherjee who observed that the horse represented the Sun in the *Agnyādhāna* ceremony. While Prof. Sircar referred to the Sun's chariot being drawn by seven steeds and to inscriptions quoting the epic stanza representing the cows as the daughters of the Sun (*Sūrya-sutāś=ca gāvaḥ*), Dr. A. N. Lahiri drew attention to the fact that in Greece the chariot of the Sun-god Helios was drawn only by four horses. Prof. Sircar enquired whether, anywhere in the *Mahābhārata*, the Sun's connexion with Sāmba has been indicated. Dr. Chatterjee replied in the negative. Prof. Sircar thereupon observed that this seems to show that the Great Epic was completed before the introduction of the Persian form of Sun-worship in India (mentioned by Varāhamihira and in the *Bhavisya Purāṇa*), particularly in Northern India. Dr. K. K. Ganguly opined that the association of the horse with the Sun in India is probably due to Iranian influence. Dr. Chatterjee disagreed and observed that, as the connection of the Sun-god with horses dates from the Vedic period, that cannot be the case. Sri D. Mukherjee then observed that the conception of the Sun-god as a malignant deity is very interesting. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya wanted to give a philosophical explanation of the seven horses of Sūrya, which was not accepted by Dr. Chatterjee. Prof. Sircar pointed out that similar philosophical interpretation can be offered to anything and referred to Tagore's humorous explanation of the gibberish *Hiṅg Ṭiṅg Chat*.

[The paper has been published in the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. VIII, 1968-69, pp. 171-75.]

2. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya read a short note on 'References to the Caste System in the Earliest Portions of the Vedic Literature', in which he wanted to show that the caste system in its most rigid form was prevalent during the period of the composition of even the earliest Saṁhitās. In this connection, he quoted some verses chiefly from the first *Maṇḍala* of the *Ṛgveda*. Prof. Sircar observed that Sri Bhattacharya was not correct to say that all the four castes were known to the seers of the early portions of the *Ṛgveda* because there is no reference to the term *Śūdra* anywhere in the *Ṛgveda* except in a *Sūkta* of the tenth *Maṇḍala*. He also rejected Sri Bhattacharya's contention that the *Atharvaveda* is earlier than the *Ṛgveda* and observed that the former was not originally regarded as a genuine *Saṁhitā* by the orthodox Brāhmaṇas. Sri D. Mukherjee thought that, in every country and society of the world, there is some evidence of the existence of social grades, and Prof. Sircar mentioned in this connection the *Majjhima Nikāya* and Aśokan inscriptions to show that even the Yonas or Greeks had two such grades, viz. Ārya and Dāsa.

Sri R. K. Bhattacharya replied that he had already proved in an article published in the *Indian Review* that the major part of the

Atharvaveda is earlier than any other Saṁhitā. Prof. Sircar remarked that he should better publish some articles in first class journals and send copies to renowned authorities on the subject in different countries for favour of their opinion.

3. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay read a note on *Rūpa* in which he referred to the view that *Rūpa* in the sense of animal is only found in the lexicons and that it is difficult to trace it in the works of Sanskrit literature. Dr. Bandyopadhyay quoted some passages from inscriptions and Sanskrit works to show that the above view is not correct. Sri D. Mukherjee supported Dr. Bandyopadhyay and observed that *Rūpa* in the sense of 'coin' is also met with in Sanskrit literature. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya referred to a passage quoted by Dr. Bandyopadhyay and stated that *rūpa* in this passage should mean 'coin'. Dr. Bandyopadhyay disagreed with Sri Bhattacharya and said that the passage *rūpa-śataṁ=ekaṁ pālayet* actually means that one hundred animals should be protected, since the protection of one hundred coins would sound improbable.

XXIV

Thursday, the 22nd August, 1968.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Sm. C. Sengupta, M.A.; Sm. A. Majumdar, M.A.; Dr. Sm. K Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.: Dr. K. K. Dasgupta, M.A., D.Phil.; and others.

Proceedings : When Prof. D. C. Sircar read out the proceedings of the previous monthly Seminar held on 11.7.68 for confirmation, Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay referred to Dr. A. K. Chatterjee's paper on Sun-worship in the Epics and observed that the article is not a comprehensive treatment of the subject and should therefore have been entitled 'Some Aspects of Sun-worship in the Epics'.

Dr. A. K. Chatterjee referred to Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay's note on *Rūpa* and said that the word has been recognised in the sense of 'an animal' in Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* and D. C. Sircar's *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*. Dr. Bandyopadhyay replied that the sense was noted in the Sanskrit lexicons, but was not traced in works like Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*. He further said that he had occasion to refer in his note to the inscription cited in the *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*.

2 Sri R. K. Bhattacharya read his note on 'Storeyed Buildings in Ancient India', in which he tried to prove, on the testimony of the *Viśvakarmavāstuśāstra* ascribed to Viśvakarman, the divine architect, that, in ancient India, the kings lived in multistoreyed buildings and that storeyed buildings were constructed by rich people for dwelling purposes and for housing their deities. The educational institutions in towns and cities, he said, had multistoreyed buildings. People of the warrior class lived in two- or three-storeyed buildings. The tallest building was of 16 storeys. Sri Bhattacharya cited the *Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata Mṛcchakaṭika* and *Kādambarī* in this connection.

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that the *Viśvakarmavāstuśāstra* is a medieval work and said that Indian emperors lived in magnificent palaces and certainly not in huts even more than a millennium before its composition. Prof. Sircar then pointed to the Sohgaurā inscription, of about the 3rd or 4th century B.C., bearing the representation of a three-storeyed store-house and the Junagaḍh inscription (150 A.D.) of Rudradāman I mentioning *upatalpa* or the upper storey of buildings. Dr. A. N. Lahiri doubted the existence of buildings of 16 storeys. In Prof. Sircar's opinion, if such references are found, they are to be regarded as mere flight of fancy such as the flying chariots and horses mentioned in the literary works of India and elsewhere. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya said that there is no reference to storeyed buildings in the Vedas; but Sri D. Mukherjee drew his attention to the Ṛgvedic reference to Varuṇa's palace having one thousand gates. Prof. Sircar said that the magnificent palace of Candragupta Maurya (4th century B.C.) was built of wood and Aśoka's stone palaces were believed to have been constructed not by human beings but by supernatural agency. Dr. D. R. Das thought that Sri Bhattacharya would be benefited if he consulted Coomaraswamy's paper entitled 'Early Indian Architecture: Palaces' (appearing in the *Eastern Art*, Vol. III) which deals with the subject from many angles. Dr. Das also drew attention to the excavated remains and sculptural represcntaions of buildings to prove the antiquity of storeyed buildings in India. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay observed that Sri Bhattacharya's paper should better be styled 'Storeyed Buildings in Some Sanskrit Texts' and not 'Storeyed Buildings in Ancient India'.

3. Sri Sarjug Prasad Singh then read his paper on the Sonepur Hoard of Ancient Indian Coins. The hoard, discovered at Sonepur (sometimes called Ṣoṇitapura and associated with the demon king Bāṇa) near Belaganj in the Gaya District, contains 89 copper coins, four stone weights, a terracotta snake-hood and a rectangular stone piece having two Nāga figures on the obverse side and the figure of a donkey and the inscription *Ubhavaśa* (in Brāhmī characters of about the 2nd or 3rd century B.C.) engraved on the reverse. It is said to have been found in a field near the mound called Bāṇāsurkā Gaḍh.

In Sri Singh's opinion, it was probably a family deposit. The weights might have been used for weighing coins or precious metals, while the snake-hood and Nāga figures, he said, suggested the prevalence of Nāga worship in the region. Sri Singh referred to the literary and archaeological evidences on Nāga worship in Magadha and referred to the prevalence of Śeṣanāga's worship in Bihar on the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa with milk and *lāvā* (*lāja*).

Sri Singh said that the hoard includes one each of silver-coated and silver-plated punch-marked coins, 8 copper punch-marked coins and 69 cast copper coins. The silver-coated and silver-plated coins, also found at Kumrahar, Badgaon, Bhilsa, Kosam and Tripuri, were regarded by him as ancient forgeries manufatured by the private moneyers or counterfeiters and circulated in the market as genuine silver coins. Sri Singh regarded Allan's view that cast copper coins belong mainly to Central India and Uttar Pradesh as wrong since similar coins have been reported from Kumrahar, Rajgir, Maner, Chirand, Basadh, Naulagadh, Madhuri, Pinagara, Bangadh, Harinarayanpur, Tamluk and Chandraketugadh, so that it was a well-established currency also of North-Eastern India. Sri Singh observed that such coins were current in the Maurya, Śuṅga and Kuṣāṇa periods, some of them surviving also in the Gupta age.

In a discussion on snake worship in Eastern India, reference was made to the Manasā cult. Prof. D. C. Sircar referred to the view that the name Manasā has been borrowed from *Mañcamma* of South India and drew attention to the similar name *Cetasādevī* occurring in a South Indian record of the 6th century A.D.

Dr. A. K. Chatterjee thought that Manasā may be of Bengali origin. Prof. Sircar observed that the snake goddess was worshipped in Bihar and Bengal under various local names such as *Bhaṭṭinī* Maṭṭuvā. Dr. A. N. Lahiri said that the coins of the Sonepur hoard are to be dated earlier than the Christian era and that their discovery from an extensive area in a similar cultural assemblage seems to suggest that they were issued by a Central authority. He was of the opinion that they preceded the inscribed Indian coins.

Prof. Sircar did not agree with this view and observed that according to Buddhaghoṣa, who flourished in the fifth century A.D., supported by his commentators, punch-marked coins were manufactured in his time even though coins bearing legends had been introduced into the Indian market centuries earlier. In his opinion, the cast copper coins must have been locally manufactured by the private agencies according to the need of the market. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay pointed out that Prof. Sircar's contention was supported by the *Aṅgavijjā* according to which old punch-marked coins as well as the recently manufactured ones were both current in the market in the Gupta age. Prof. Sircar further said that some of Sri Singh's coins were in mint condition and

that they were sometimes unearthed from the Gupta level as Sri Singh had indicated.

XXV

Thursday, the 19th September, 1968.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Dr. Sm. P. Niyogi. M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya. M.A.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sm. S. Bhattacharya, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings : Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read his 'Indological Notes'. In his first note on Prāgjyotiṣa, Dr. Chatterjee suggested the existence of a second Prāgjyotiṣa situated not far from Dvārakā, the capital of the Vṛṣṇis, during the time of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa. He based his assumption on the ground that the Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa (42.31) of the *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to a Prāgjyotiṣa situated in the western direction. In this connections, he also referred to several verses of the *Mahābhārata* (II. 42.7; II. 31.9-10; II. 33.17; II. 13.13-14) which, in his opinion. suggest the location of Prāgjyotiṣa in the Western region. Three of these verses mention Prāgjyotiṣa after the Ānartas or Saindhavas or the kingdom of the Kuṇindas. In conclusion, Dr. Chatterjee observed that Prāgjyotiṣa of Assam was so called after the Prāgjyotiṣa of Western India at a later period and that Prāgjyotiṣa of Assam came into prominence after the destruction of the original Prāgjyotiṣa of the West.

Sri D. K. Biswas and Dr. S. K. Mitra thanked Dr. Chatterjee for drawing attention to a second Prāgjyotiṣa which was situated in Western India. Prof. D. C. Sircar, however, observed that the *Rāmāyaṇa* reference to a Prāgjyotiṣa in the West is well known, though such references appear to be due to confusion and have been regarded as wrong. He pointed out that the mention of Prāgjyotiṣa along with West Indian tracts is not conclusive evidence. In his opinion, the name *Prāgjyotiṣa* is derived from *prāg-jyotis* meaning 'eastern light' or 'light from the east', so that the country must have been in the eastern region and not in the west. In Prof. Sircar's opinion, the suggestion that the Eastern Prāgjyotiṣa flourished after the destruction of a Prāgjyotiṣa of the West is based merely on imagination.

Dr. Chatterjee then read his second note entitled 'Ancient Name of Nepāla' in which he referred to a verse from the Vana-parvan (130.13)

of the *Mahābhārata,* which mentions a place called Vātika-ṣaṇḍa and describes it as a mountainous land lying north of Videha (*Videhād=uttaram*). According to Dr. Chatterjee, the description of the place as sacred to Śiva makes it clear that Vātika-ṣaṇḍa was the ancient name of Nepāla. Prof. Sircar, however, observed that Dr. Chatterjee's argument is not conclusive, for any place north of Vedeha and sacred to Śiva may not be identical with Nepāla. In his opinion, the description would be applicable even if Vātika-ṣaṇḍa comprised only a small part of modern Nepal.

2. Sri B. P. Mishra then read his note on 'the Story of Ahalyā'. Analysing the story, he observed that the characters of the story represent certain natural phenomena. According to him, Gautama is the sun, Ahalyā the dawn, Indra the fire (Agni) and *Soma* the moon. In this connection, Sri Mishra also traced the different stages of the development of the story on the basis of references in the Vedic and epic literature. In his opinion, Rāma was introduced into the story later after his apotheosis.

Prof. D. C. Sircar, who believed that such interpretations can be offered for any story, said that, if one has to understand Indra as something else, it is possibly better to identify him with thundering clouds than with Agni. Sri D. Mukherjee agreed with Prof. Sircar. Sri Mishra, however, thought that the thunder-god is not very popular in the Vedic and Purāṇic mythologies. Sri D. K. Biswas referred to Kumārila who tried to explain the characters of gods and goddesses as representing one or other natural phenomenon. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya also pointed out that Sri Mishra's interpretation is not new, many authorities including Kumārila having tried to explain the characters of different gods and goddesses as aspects of nature. Sri D. Mukherjee and Prof. Sircar agreed that such an approach is not uncommon.

3. Prof. Sircar then read his note entitled 'Ambaṣṭha and Māhiṣya' in which he suggested modification of a few of the views expressed in his work entitled *Studies in the Society and Administration in Ancient and Medieval India,* Vol. I—*Society,* Calcutta, 1967. He pointed out that, though the date of the settlement of the Ambaṣṭhas in the Tamil- and Malayalam-speaking regions has been regarded as indeterminable in the said work, Ptolemy's reference to the Ambastai (Ambaṣṭha) living near the Bettigoi (people living about the Bettigo or Malaya range identified with the Travancore hills) would show that the Ambaṣṭhas settled in the South before the composition of Ptolemy's *Geography* about the middle of the second century A.D. Another point to which Prof. Sircar drew attention is that the *Sūtasaṁhitā* tradition identifying the Ambaṣṭha and Māhiṣya has been regarded in the above book as a late fabrication. But it now appeared to Prof. Sircar that the said tradition is based on the fact that, according to Gautama as interpreted by Haradatta, the Ambaṣṭha was the offspring of the

Kṣatriya from the Vaiśya woman, the same community being called Māhiṣya by some authorities. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay wanted to know the date of the *Sūtasaṁhitā*, and Prof. Sircar replied that it is a late work probably not earlier than the fifteenth century A.D.

[The note was published in the 11th Reunion Souvenir of the Dept. of AIHC, 1968, pp. 1-2.]

XXVI

Thursday, the 14th November, 1968.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sm. C. Sen Gupta, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings : Dr. D. R. Das spoke on 'A Terracotta Plaque from Chandraketugarh'. He exhibited the Plaque (collected by himself) together with the photograph of another terracotta figure of the same type found at Rajghat and observed that one such terracotta is preserved in the Patna Museum while a fourth of the same type was collected by the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University, from Chandraketugarh itself. It is curious, he said, that the figure in all these cases is the same even in minor details. According to Dr. Das, the figure appears, at the first sight, to be a standing female; but actually it is a robust male. The animal seen on its left side may be a deer, a ram or a goat. Dr. Das added that the iconographic type was popular over a wide area and that its norm was fixed. The type was attributed by Dr. Das to the Kuṣāṇa period, for in the Gupta age we notice the features of a slender and proportionate body. He concluded by saying that the type indicates a nomadic affinity and exhibits aboriginal characteristics and that nude terracotta male figures are rare, so that the plaque is interesting from the iconographic point of view.

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that the figure holds, in the right hand, a string tied to the neck of the animal and wanted to know what the figure is doing with the left hand. Dr. Das replied that he seems to be offering leaves to the animal. But Prof. Sircar was not inclined to accept the suggestion. Dr. Das said that V. S. Agrawala, in an article contributed to the *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, identified the figure with a Lubdhaka (Hunter). Prof. Sircar regarded

the identification as interesting and observed that, once in a Monthly Meeting of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, a Hunter-like figure carrying a fowl was identified by him as a Bodhisattva though others took it to be Kārttikeya. Sri D. K. Biswas said that the nude figure with its majestic upper part and the hanging robe reminds us of Hellenistic sculptures. But Dr. Lahiri did not agree with the suggestion and regarded the figure to be a popular indigenous motif. Dr. Das said that he had consulted Sri D. P. Ghosh who regarded the figure as a representation of Śiva; but Dr. Das did not consider the suggestion acceptable, and Prof. Sircar agreed even though, he said, it may represent a Kirāta aboriginal. Dr. Lahiri said that the figure has no resemblance with any of our deities. Prof. Sircar thought that the small plaque was preserved in one's house for prosperity and protection from evils and was probably not meant for worship. Dr. Das drew attention to the images of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras which are sometimes even three inches in height. Prof. Sircar pointed out that the Tīrthaṅkaras are not generally seen with ornaments. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay also remarked that no image of an early Jain Tīrthaṅkara is seen with ornamentation.

2. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya read his note entitled '*Paśupa* in the *Ṛgveda*' in which he critically examined R. G. Bhandarkar's view expressed in the latter's book *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems* in which Rudra has been supposed to be called *Paśupa* or 'protector of the cattle' in the *Ṛgveda*, I. 114.9. Sri Bhattacharya quoted the stanza together with Sāyaṇa's commentary to show that the god Rudra has not been called Paśupa in the said stanza which uses the word in the sense of 'a cowherd'.

Prof. Sircar admitted that Bhandarkar's interpretation of the word in this case is wrong and that no other modern commentator has probably interpreted the stanza in that way.

3. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read his paper on the Janakas of Mithilā. He drew attention to the mention of Janaka in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* and criticised the view of Weber and H. C. Raychaudhuri who identify Janaka of the Vedic literature with Janaka of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He proposed to identify Vedic Janaka with Bṛhadratha Janaka mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as one of the ancestors of Sītā's father. In support of his view, he cited a passage from the Śānti-parvan (298.4) of the *Mahābhārata*, which refers to one Daivarāti (i.e. the son of Devarāta) as the patron of the philosopher Yājñavalkya. Now, according to the Lesser Epic, the son of king Devarāta was *Rājarṣi* Bṛhadratha. The epithet *Rājarṣi*, according to Dr. Chatterjee, is significant since it tallies with the description of the philosopher-king Janaka given in both the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. Dr. Chatterjee also rejected the theory which places Janaka after Janamejaya, the grandson of Abhimanyu.

Sri D. Mukherjee agreed with Dr. Chatterjee and added that the last word has not yet been said on the date of the Vedic works specially the *Ṛgveda*. Prof. D. C. Sircar, who believed in the existence of more than one Janaka, did not think that Dr. Chatterjee had succeeded in proving his case. If the Vedic Janaka be marked as Janaka I, Prof. Sircar asked, where exactly should we place Sīradhvaja Janaka the father of Sītā? He was doubtful about the existence of so many Parikṣits and Janamejayas. Sri D. Mukherjee believed that all the personages mentioned in early Indian literature were historical figures. Dr. Chatterjee also thought that the evidences of the early literature cannot be rejected. Prof. Sircar emphasised the difficulty in determining the chronology of the Vedic personages.

4. Prof. D. C. Sircar read his paper on 'Dushanbe Conference on the Kuṣāṇas'. The Conference, which Prof. Sircar attended, was held at Dushanbe in Tajikistan (USSR) from the 27th September to the 5th October, 1968. A number of papers were read, and some discussion on them was also held. The purpose of the Conference, organised under the UNESCO Central Asian Project, he said, was the study of Central Asian Civilisation during the Kuṣāṇa period. It was, he continued, a conference organised on international level and was attended by the representatives of many countries. The representatives of some countries including India were looked after with special care and were treated with kindness and consideration. The atmosphere of the gathering was quite friendly. Prof. Sircar presented at the Conference a paper on 'Eastern India and the Kuṣāṇas'. In his opinion, the standard of the papers and discussions at the Conference was, generally speaking, not sufficiently high. In this connection, he referred to a paper on the date of Kaniṣka wherein the author tried to re-establish R. G. Bhandarkar's long-exploded theory suggesting that Kaniṣka I ascended the throne in 278 A.D. The unsatisfactory nature of the theory, Prof. Sircar pointed out, was long ago demonstrated by G. Jouveau-Dubreuil and H. C. Raychaudhuri. Prof. Sircar also referred to some of the points on which he failed to agree with the views expressed in some of the papers presented at the Dushanbe Conference. Some such points related to the northern boundary of the Kuṣāṇa empire, the religious faith of the Kuṣāṇa kings, the culture of the Kuṣāṇa dominions, etc.

Sri D. Mukherjee wanted to know whether the Conference succeeded in adding to our knowledge about the Kuṣāṇas. Prof. Sircar did not consider its success up to expectation. Sri Mukherjee also wanted information about the Buddhist source mentioning the name of Rudradāman. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay replied that the information is gathered from the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* read with the Chinese translation of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*.

[The note was published above, Vol. II, pp. 229 ff.]

XXVII

Thursday, the 12th December, 1968.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. Sm. P. Niyogi, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sri Pramode Lal Paul, M.A.; Sri Ramkrishna Chakravarty, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings : Sri Ramkrishna Chakravarty read a paper entitled 'Gotras and Pravaras' in which it was shown that the names of *gotras* and *pravaras* are generally spelt and pronounced wrongly and that, on this subject, the *Pañjikās* and works like the *Kriyākāṇḍa-vāridhi, Purohitadarpaṇa, Udvāhatattva,* etc., cannot be relied upon. In his opinion, the correct forms of *Kāśyapa, Bhāradvāja, Śāṇḍilya, Maudgalya, Sāvarṇa* and *Ālambyāyana* should be *Kaśyapa, Bharadvāja, Śaṇḍila, Mudgala, Sāvarṇi* and *Ālambhāyana. Gotra,* he continued, has two meanings, viz. (1) the traditionally known Brāhmaṇa ancestor, and (2) *vaṁśa* (clan). Purușottama's *Pravaramañjarī* says that the name of the *gotra* will be the name of the *gotrakāra-ṛṣi* without any *taddhita* suffix. The *pravaras,* Sri Chakravarty added, were to be recited at the beginning of sacrifices while invoking the fire, just to indicate the family-connection of the *yajamāna* with some *mantra-draṣṭṛ ṛṣi,* well-known to Agni. In reciting the names of such *ṛṣis,* the *Adhvaryu* goes backwards from the descendant to the ancestor adding *vat* after each name, while the *Hotṛ* goes forward from the ancestor to the descendant mentioning the names with the *taddhita* suffix and using the vocative case. Sri Chakravarty also referred to the *pravaras* of 55 different *gotras* as stated in the different books.

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that, from the point of view of social history, the *gotras* and *pravaras* offer an interesting study. He said that, in ancient Indian literature and inscriptions, the Brāhmaṇas are often mentioned along with their *gotras* and that, in the inscriptions, we come across certain *gotras* which are not mentioned in the ancient books on them (e.g. Ānanda-gotra). Sri R. K. Bhattacharya doubted whether the expressions would be *Kaśyapa, Bharadvāja,* etc., and opined that the forms should better be *Kāśyapa Bhāradvāja,* etc. Prof. Sircar pointed out that, in inscriptions, we generally find the latter expressions, while Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay said that the form *Kaśyapa* is also found in certain inscriptions. Sri B. P. Mishra remarked that *gotra* might also mean 'a name' and in support of his

view he quoted a passage from Kālidāsa. Sri R. K. Billorey pointed out that even now some people use the names of certain *gotras* as surnames and Sri D. K. Biswas and Prof. Sircar supported him by referring to surnames like *Kāśyapa, Bharadvāja,* etc.

2 Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read a note entitled 'The Pāṇḍavas'. He pointed out that, the Pāṇḍavas are represented as the scions of the Kuru family throughout the *Mahābhārata* and thus the theory that they were a mountain clan of Nonaryan extraction has no legs to stand upon. Referring to Draupadī's marriage with the five Pāṇḍava brothers, Dr. Chatterjee argued that it would be unwise to jump to any definite conclusion on the basis of this single case of polyandry. Even the poets of the Great Epic, most of whom probably received favour from the royal descendants of the Pāṇḍavas, found it somewhat unpalatable, as is known from a verse in the Ādiparvan. Therefore the epic poets, according to Dr. Chatterjee, had no other alternative than to concoct some stories in defence of the polyandrous marriage. Dr. Chatterjee further observed that there is not a single case of polyandrous marriage among the descendants of the Pāṇḍavas. Dr. Chatterjee concluded by the observation that polyandry was prevalent among the people of South India and that the Indo-Aryans were definitely not a polyandrous people and their law-givers never encouraged it.

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that the Pāṇḍavas may have been the scions of the Kuru family. But he doubted whether polyandry was unknown to the Aryans even after they had sufficient admixture of blood with the Nonaryans and adopted some of the latter's ideas and customs. He found no difficulty in believing that the Pāṇḍavas had Monogolian blood in their veins and that they borrowed some customs including polyandry from that source or from South India. Dr. A. N. Lahiri expressed doubts about the existence of the custom of polyandry in South India. But Prof Sircar pointed out that polyandry existed in the Malayalam-speaking area till recent times. Sri D. K. Biswas and Sri R. K. Bhattacharya spoke in support of the arguments of Dr. Chatterjee.

3. Sri Sarjug Prasad Singh spoke on 'Some Relics from Canākī'. Sri Singh said that, at Canākī which is a village in Bihar, there are the ruins of an ancient brick structure near a tank. The place is known to the local people as Mahādeva-sthāna. From there, he had collected some interesting antiquities which were surface finds. Sri Singh exhibited the antiquities which included the terracotta head of a youth with a turban, a *tilaka* on the forehead and rounded and open lips. Sri Singh described it as a pre-Mauryan specimen. The second object was a moulded terracotta plaque with a female figure wearing drapery and separate head-dress. He attributed it to the Śuṅga period. The third object, a torso of an uncertain period, was

characterised by Sri Singh as a theriomorphic representation of the snake-goddess. The fourth specimen, a terracotta head, was attributed by him to the Kuṣāṇa age. Besides, there were several terracotta beads worn as ornaments, and also wheels and skin-rubbers and the representation of an elephant painted black with red spots. Sri Singh observed that the said objects indicate an evolution of Indian sculpture.

Prof. D. C. Sircar described the specimens as interesting. As to the first object, he doubted whether it was a male figure. Dr. D. R. Das, however, was of the opinion that it was a male figure which he attributed to the Kuṣāṇa age in view of the features of the turban. As to the second specimen, Dr. Das thought that it might be the figure of a Yakṣiṇī. He also observed that the fourth object, i.e. the head, closely resembled that of the Buddha. As regards the last object, Sri B. P. Mishra pointed out that black elephants with red spots are not mentioned in the *Gajaśāstra*, whereupon Dr. Das replied that the figure might be that of a *Citāhastī*. Prof. Sircar, Dr. Lahiri and Dr. Das congratulated Sri Singh for his valuable collection.

[The paper was published in the *Prācyavidyā-taraṅgiṇī*, ed. D. C. Sircar, pp. 103 ff.]

XXVIII

Monday, the 13th January, 1969

Present: Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. Sm. P. Niyogi, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings: Sri R. K. Bhattacharya read a short note entitled 'Origin of Religious Rites in India'. Quoting the *Ṛgveda* and the *Maṇḍūkopaniṣad*, he observed that the earliest religious rite of the Hindus was of the nature of offering of oblations in the sacred fire. According to him, it was the sage Atharvan who introduced the rite and afterwards it was propagated by the families of his sons and disciples. Sri Bhattacharya also referred in this connection to the *Ṛgveda* which describes *yajña* as *prathamo dharmaḥ*.

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that the title of Sri Bhattacharya's paper speaks of a vast subject, though its treatment by the author is superficial. He further pointed out that religious rites began to develop in human society at the early stage of civilization in different

forms among different peoples, and referred to the Aryan offering of oblations in fire and the Nonaryan offering of flowers, etc., and also to *tarpaṇa* in waters. In Prof. Sircar's opinion, even if, for argument's sake, Atharvan may be regarded as the originator of *yajña* which was the *prathama-dharma* of the Aryans, it is not proved that the Aryans and Nonaryans before Atharvan did not observe any religious rite at all, because the word *prathama* not only means 'first', but also 'foremost'. Dr. S. R. Das and Dr. S. K. Mitra supported Prof. Sircar. Sri D. K. Biswas suggested that the title of the paper could be 'Origin of Śrauta Rites'. Sri D. Mukherjee observed that Sri Bhattacharya's arguments were confined to Vedic belief, though the word *Atharvan* occurs in a slightly different form in the *Avesta*. He further remarked that Sri Bhattacharya did not say anything about the *bali* offering.

2. Sri B. P. Mishra then read his paper entitled 'Origin of the Amṛtamanthana Story'. He discussed the sources of the story and traced its germ in the Vedic literature. He quoted the *Ṛgveda*, I. 23.19, in which it is stated that there is *amṛta* or nectar in the waters. The tortoise incarnation of the god Viṣṇu, which is connected with the story, finds mention in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. He further argued that Svarbhānu of the *Ṛgveda* (6.44) is a precursor of Rāhu of the epics and the Purāṇas. The cutting of Rāhu's head by Viṣṇu in the Purāṇic Amṛtamanthana legend, according to Sri Mishra, is reminiscent of the Vedic story in which the head of Viṣṇu (the Sun-god) was cut off by the string of his own bow. Sri Mishra further argued that the consuming of *kālakūṭa* by Rudra in the Amṛtamanthana story is an attempt to explain the epithet *Nīlakaṇṭha* applied to Rudra by the poets of the *Yajurveda*.

Sri R. K. Bhattacharya wanted to know whether this legend has any allegorical significance. Sri Mishra replied that he had not considered the question from that point of view. Sri D. K. Biswas opined that Sri Mishra had done well in tracing the story to its Vedic source. He also accepted the different explanations offered by Sri Mishra. Sri D. Mukherjee and Prof. D. C. Sircar pointed out that attempts to trace Purāṇic stories to the Vedic literature had been previously made by several scholars. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay wanted to know whether the title was suitable, whereas Dr. A. K. Chatterjee observed that, as the author attempts to trace the story in Vedic literature, the title may not be unjustified.

3. While discussing the use of abbreviations in epigraphic records, Prof. D. C. Sircar referred first to easily intelligible contractions like *saṁ* (*saṁbaddha, saṁvatsara*), *Brā* (*Brāhmaṇa*), etc., and then to the abbreviations in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad plate of Viśvarūpasena and the Mehar plate of Dāmodara and pointed out how he took many years in explaining such contractions as *sāṁ-hi* (*sāṁvat-*

sarika-hiranya, annual revenue income in cash), *vā-ṭī* (*vāstu-ṭikara* or *vāstu-ṭikkara*, a mound of homestead land), etc. Attention was then drawn by Prof. Sircar to a copper-plate inscription issued by king Mādhava of Assam recently published in the *Journal of the Gauhati University*, which uses a large number of abbreviations. He explained how he succeeded in interpreting the two difficult contraction groups *la-gu-vṛ* and *pra-vṛ-gaṁ* as *lamba-guvāka-vṛkṣāḥ* (tall or mature arecanut palms) and *prati-vṛkṣa-gaṇḍakāni* (annual income in *gaṇḍakas* or *gaṇḍās* per tree) respectively. Sri T. N. Chakraborty wanted to know whether *vrīhi* could be read in the above cotractions. As the *akṣara* was *vṛ*, Prof. Sircar did not consider it possible. Dr. S. R. Das observed that the betelnut tree is unknown in Assam. Prof. Sircar disagreed with this view and replied that there is no dearth of betelnut trees in the Brahmaputra valley in Assam (cf. Watt, *The Commercial Products of India*, 1908, p. 83, and Assamese place names like Guwāhāṭi and Guwākuci, in which *guwā* means 'arecanut'). Sri D. Mukherjee thanked Prof. Sircar for his interesting and original suggestions.

[The copper-plate grant of king Mādhava has been re-edited by Prof. Sircar, above, Vol. II, pp. 65 ff.]

XXIX

Thursday, the 13th February, 1969

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair): Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M.A.; Dr. K. K. Dasgupta, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. Sm. P. Niyogi, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sm. Manisha Mukhopadhyay, M.A.; Sm. Indrani Kapur, M.A.; Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; and others.

Proceedings : Prof. D. C. Sircar raised a discussion on 'Some Non-Dravidian Words in the Modern Dravidian Languages', in which he pointed out how the English word 'literature', translated into Bengali as *sāhitya*, is translated as *vāṅmaya* in Telugu, etc., and how 'a novel' is *navīnam* in Tamil (after the original meaning of the word in English) and *kādambarī* in Kannaḍa (after a famous Sanskrit novel of that name). In Bengali, a novel is an *upanyāsa* which means 'a lecture' in Kannaḍa. Prof. Sircar also referred to the Kannaḍa family-name *Birādar* which is a Persian word meaning 'brother', though it means

'the Pāṭil's brother' in the present case. This was because, in rural administration in the area in question, the Pāṭil or village headman was often represented by his brother as a recognised proxy. The Sanskrit word *praśasti*, generally understood in the sense of 'a eulogy', means in Kannaḍa 'a prize' or 'a certificate of honour'. In Kannaḍa, etc., unlike Bengali, Sanskrit *vicāraṇā* means 'enquiry' and *sūcanā* 'a notice'. *Bhautavijñāna* is employed for 'Physics', translated as *padārthavidyā* in Bengali.

Dr. K. K. Dasgupta said that *ramanyāsa* is another word for 'novel' in Bengali. Sri R. K. Billorey pointed out that in Marāṭhī also the word *vicāraṇā* means 'enquiry' while Dr. S. K. Mitra observed that this can be exaplained by the fact that, in order to find out the truth, one requires to enquire. Sri D. Mukherjee drew attention to the word *kalyāṇa* which means 'marriage' in the South Indian languages. He also compared *Birādar* with *Rājasthānīya*, while Prof. Sircar pointed to the designation 'Brother of the King' on the coins of Spalirises.

2. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read a note entitled 'Adulteration of Foodstuff, etc., in Ancient India', in which he tried to prove that the early Indian traders were not shy to resort to the practice of adulteration. He cited the *Arthaśāstra*, *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* and *Manusmṛti* and said that butter, salt, molasses, rice, timer, jewels, etc., were adulterated. For the adulterators of the above-mentioned commodities, Yājñavalkya prescribes a fine of 16 *paṇas* and the author of the *Viṣṇusmṛti* a fine of 1000 *paṇas*.

Dr. S. K. Mitra observed that a simple specification of penal laws in certain types of adulteration does not prove Dr. Chatterjee's contention that adulteration was widespread. Prof. Sircar said that our vast story literature may supply many instances of adulteration and suggested that Dr. Chatterjee may conduct an enquiry in that field. Dr. D. R. Das referred to the Jātakas in this connection.

[The note was published in the *Prācyavidyā-taraṅgiṇī*, ed. D. C. Sircar, pp. 151-52.]

3. Sm. Manisha Mukhopadhyay read a note entitled 'Some Aspects of Gaṇapati'. She referred to the *Ardhanārī* form of Gaṇapati mentioned in the *Halāyudhastotra* inscribed on the Amareśvara temple and to the said god's description as 'the supporter of the universe' in the Malhar stone inscription of Jājalladeva. She also referred to the pranks and foolishness of Gaṇapati as a little boy in Śiva's family, described so poetically in some inscriptions.

Prof. D. C. Sircar appreciated some of the scenes described in the stanzas quoted by Sm. Mukhopadhyay. One of them refers to child Gaṇapati touching the jewels on his father's body in a desire to appropriate some of them and at the same time looking fearfully at his father's face. Another depicts Gaṇapati as keeping the rythm,

with his trunk, when his father danced. Sri D. Mukherjee opined that such descriptions are due to individual fancies of the poets.

[The note was published above, Vol. II, pp. 112 ff.]

4. Sm. Indrani Kapur read a note on 'A Yab-yum Bronze Image from Nepal'. The bronze sculpture which she exhibited was brought by one of her relations from Nepal. It represents a bird-headed god in a pose of dancing and hurling a *vajra* with the right hand and holding a *ghaṇṭā* in the left hand with which he embraces the goddess.

Dr. D. R. Das suggested that the god may be the Garuḍa-headed Vajrapāṇi Bodhisattva. Sm. Kapur observed that the god has not the wings and claws of Garuḍa. Prof. Sircar regarded it as an interesting specimen not illustrated in Bhattacharya's *Indian Buddhist Iconography* and Getty's *Gods of Northern Buddhism*.

[The note was published above, Vol. II, pp. 116-17.]

Thursday, the 13th March, 1969

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sm. Manisha Mukhopadhyay, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings : Sri Sarjug Prasad Singh read a paper on 'An Inscribed Stone from Sonepur'. The reddish stone, measuring 4″ × 3″ × 8″, was found in the possession of an old woman of the village of Sonepur, also called Śoṇitpur (associated in local tradition with the demon king Bāṇa), situated about 3 miles to the west of the Belāgañj Police Station in the Gaya District of Bihar. Sri Singh said that the stone, which is a surface find, bears, on the obverse, a pair of Nāga figures and, on the reverse, a figure of a donkey and the inscription *Ubhavaśa* in Brāhmī characters. According to him, the inscription seems to record a personal name. In Sri Singh's opinion, the appearance of the Nāga figures on the present stone suggests the popularity of the serpent cult in this region of ancient Bihar. The Nāga was probably the family deity of the person to whom the stone belonged. Sri Singh then referred to the occurrence of similar Nāga figures on the silver punch-marked coins and various local and tribal coins like those of Ayodhyā, the Yaudheyas, the Kuṇindas, the Kulūtas, etc. He suggested that, on palaeographical grounds, the stone may be assigned to the 3rd century B. C. Sri Singh further dealt with the artistic value of the stone and observed

that the designs and incisions on the Nāga figures show a highly developed art of stone carving.

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that the letter *ś* found in the inscription was rarely used in the early Prakrit records of Eastern India and, therefore, he suggested that the stone may be assigned to the 2nd or 1st century B.C. He said that similarly placed Nāga figures standing on a base line and joined together with a top curve, would make the *śrivatsa* symbol. Sri D. Mukherjee referred to the donkey's association with Ṣītalādevī, though Prof. Sircar did not agree with Sri Mukherjee and referred to the late origin of the said divinity. Dr. D. R. Das was of the opinion that the figure of the donkey was drawn earlier than the engraving of the inscription. Prof. Sircar considered Dr. Das's suggestion unlikely and pointed out that the figure of the donkey and the inscription are separated from each other and are not overlapping.

2. Sm. Manisha Mukhopadhyay read her note entitled 'Apotheosis of Yudhiṣṭhira and Hanumat', in the first part of which she pointed out that, in the Māndhātā plates (Vikrama Saṁvat 1282) of Paramāra Devapāla, Yudhiṣṭhira is represented as worshipped as a god, and in the *Mahābhārata*, although he was a Kuru prince, he is regarded as an incarnation of Dharmarāja Yama. Sm. Mukhopadhyay referred to Yudhiṣṭhira's association with one of the *rathas* at Mahābalipuram suggesting his deification. According to her, his adherence to *Dharma* (i.e. righteousness and truthfulness) was the basis of his deification.

Sm. Mukhopadhyay then referred to the Mt. Abu stone inscription (Vikrama Saṁvat 1342) of Samarasiṁha, according to which Hanumat was worshipped as a god, as a protector of mankind, who was a *Māyāvin*, and as a companion of Rāma in the *Rāmāyaṇa;* but he was not regarded as a god by Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti. Referring to the Khajuraho inscribed image of Hanumat belonging to the end of the ninth century, Sm. Mukhopadhyay said that this indicates the increasing popularity of the monkey god. In her opinion, the tendency towards Hanumat's apotheosis gave impetus to Tulsīdās, the author of the *Rāmcaritmānas* (1584 A.D.), for the complete deification of Hanumat.

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that the deification of Yudiṣṭhira and Hanumat was associated with the conception of their birth from divine fathers. Arjuna, he said, is referred to as a divinity by Pāṇini; but there is as yet no reference to the deification of Bhīma, Nakula and Sahadeva though their birth has also been traced from divine beings. Sri D. K. Biswas referred to a passage ascribed to Megasthenes (4th century B.C.) alluding to the worship of monkeys. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee referred to the occurrence of Hanumat in the *Matsya Purāṇa*. Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that such Purāṇic evidence is late and unimportant. He further observed that though Hanumat is honoured as a god in many parts of India, he is not held in very high esteem in some areas as in Bengal where the Rāma cult did not

become prominent. Dr. D. R. Das referred to the *Mahākapi Jātaka* and said that, in his previous birth, the Buddha was born as a monkey.

3. Prof. D. C. Sircar read his paper entitled 'The Letters *H* and *Ṣ* in Drāviḍa-Brāhmī' in which he defended his reading *arahaṇaṣa* and also *Hiru-Hātakaṇiṣa,* found on certain silver coins of the Sātavāhanas, against *aracaṇaku* and *Ciru-Cātakaṇiku* recently proposed by his critics. He pointed out that, although *Śāntamūla=Cāntamūla* (*ś=c*) is found in the Ikṣvāku inscriptions of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D., the Sātavāhana inscriptions offer *Śaktiśri=Hakusiri* (indicating *ś=h*; cf. *Śāta=Hāla*), and, moreover, the letter in question resembles Brāhmī *h* more than Brāhmī *c*. As to the letter *ṣ* which has now been supposed by some to be *ku*, Prof. Sircar pointed out that the reading of *ṣ* is justified by the Bhattiprolu inscriptions which also clearly demonstrate *ṣa* as the suffix for the sixth case-ending and represent *ku* by the usual Early Brāhmī sign. Prof. Sircar rejected the recent reading of the letter as *ku* as not supported by palaeographical evidence and as the suffix *ku* for the sixth case-ending is neither expected in Prakrit nor in Dravidian.

Sri D. Mukherjee agreed with Prof. Sircar and observed that the conjecture about the ues of a Dravidian case-ending in it is unwarranted. He also emphasised that *ku* is the Dravidian dative suffix and not the sign for genitive.

XXXI

Thursday, the 17th April, 1969

Present: Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M.A.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M. A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. K. K. Dasgupta, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Dr. Sm. P. Niyogi, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sm. C. Sengupta, M.A.; Sm. Manisha Mukhopadhyay, M.A.; Prof. Dasharatha Sharma, M.A., D.Litt.; and others.

Proceedings: Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read a note entitled 'Bribery in Ancient India' in which he wanted to show that the practice of bribery was very common among the ancient Indians. In support of his contention, he referred to some statements in the Smṛtis and the *Arthaśāstra*. He said that the Smṛtis have prescribed heavy punishments for accepting bribes. In this connection, Dr. Chatterjee

discussed a few stories from the Jātakas and the *Kathāsaritsāgara.*

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that the subject is interesting and a comprehensive study should be made. He pointed out that in the Tarachandi rock inscription there is specific mention of certain Brāhmaṇas obtaining a charter recording the grant of a rent-free holding in their favour after having offered *utkoca* or bribe to an officer of the Gāhaḍavāla king Vijayacandra.

2. Dr. Sm. K. Saha read her paper entitled 'Some Buddhist Monks of Central Asia in China'. She said that the monks of Central Asia made their way to China from the middle of the 2nd century A.D. Some of the distinguished monks mentioned by her are the following:—(1) An-shi-kao, (2) Lokakṣema, (3) Shi-yao, (4) Seng-hui, and (5) Kumārajīva.

3. Sm. Manisha Mukhopadhyay read her paper entitled 'Kubera's Relations' in which she pointed out that, according to J. N. Banerjea, Gaṇapati developed out of the conception of Kubera, the idea of the god resulting from a combination of the iconographic types of the Yakṣa and Nāga. She said that, in the literary works and inscriptions, Kubera is regarded as the guardian of the northern quarters and as the possessor of wealth. According to Sm. Mukhopadhyay, although Kubera's worship was not widespread, he was a popular deity. She referred to the mention of Kubera in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali and of the installation of his image in a fort in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra.* She pointed out that the *Rāmāyaṇa* regarded Kubera as a god, the early Jain and Buddhist scriptures referring to him as a *Vyantaradevatā;* but Kālidāsa calls him *Rājarājeśa* and a devotee of Śiva. Sm. Mukhopadhyay then referred to the Sakrai stone inscription (Vikrama Saṁvat 837) alluding to Kubera's worship, his description resembling that of Ucchiṣṭa-Gaṇapati of the Tantras. Soon, however, Kubera lost his status and came to be represented sometimes as a *dvārapāla* in the temple of Lakṣmī. She also pointed out that, in the Purāṇas, Kubera is described as born of Kṛṣṇa's body and, in the *Mahābhārata,* he is associated with Lakṣmī. Sm. Mukhopadhyay accepted the view that Kubera was a Nonaryan deity who was later assimilated in the pantheons of the Hindu, Buddhist and Jain gods.

Prof. D. C. Sircar did not accept J. N. Banerjea's view regarding Gaṇapati's relations with Kubera, which, in his opinion, was influenced by Coomaraswamy's opinion, but does not appear to be supported by evidence. Prof. Sircar pointed out that the Bharhut inscriptions describe Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūḍhaka, Virūpākṣa and Kubera as the Buddhist Lokapālas while the Nanaghat inscription mentions Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and Vāsava as the Brāhmaṇical Lokapālas. The above inscriptions belong respectively to the second and first centuries B.C. Prof. Sircar also referred to the Allahabad pillar inscription of the 4th century A.D.

mentioning Kubera in the list of Brāhmaṇical Lokapālas, though in literature Kubera's place is taken sometimes by Agni or Soma. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee said that the image of Gaṇapati with elephant's head is described in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*. Prof. Sircar regarded the statement to be dubious and pointed out that Gaṇeśa is known only from about the 4th century A.D. and referred to Gaṇeśa images of the 4th and later centuries. He pointed out that Kubera is not a Vedic god. Sri D. Mukherjee doubted Kubera's Nonaryan origin.

XXXII

Thursday, the 17 July, 1969.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar. M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M.A.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LL.B., D. Phil.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Dr. Sm. P. Niyogi, M.A., D. Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D. Phil.; Dr. S. P. Singh, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sm. A. Bandyopadhyay, B.A.; Sri R. K. Billorey, M.A.; Sri M. S. S. Mohana Nehru M.A.; Sm. M. Mukhopadhyay, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings : Sri T. N. Chakraborty moved a resolution condoling the death of the distinguished Indologists, Drs. B. C. Law and U. N. Ghoshal, in Calcutta, respectively on the 3rd May, 1969, and the 15th July, 1969. The members and guests stood up in silence for two minutes in honour of the deceased scholars.

2. Sri D. K. Biswas read a paper entitled 'Dharmacakra Jina' in which he suggested that, since the Jina or Buddha of the said name is stated to have been installed by Aśoka, it must have been the symbolical representation of the Buddha in the form of the Wheel of Law, because the Buddha was represented by symbols in early Indian art. His second contention was that the capital of an Aśokan column bearing the prominent representation of the Wheel of Law may have been regarded as the Dharmacakra-Jina by popular convention. Prof. Sircar agreed with Sri Biswas' first contention that the Buddha was represented in early Indian art by symbols such as the wheel, the lotus, the white elephant, etc. He pointed out, however, that the Jina represented by the Dharma-cakra in this case was apparently installed in some shrine, so that it may have been a sculpture as found at Barhut and not a tall column which was not easy to accommodate in a shrine. Sri Biswas said in reply that the broken capital of an Aśokan column may have been installed for worship in a shrine.

In Prof. Sircar's opinion, there is no necessity to think that it was a pillar capital since it could have been a Dharmacakra made and installed by Aśoka or any later ruler for worship. [See above, pp. 90 ff.]

3. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya read his paper entitled 'Widow-marriage among the Vīraśaivas' in which he said that, according to the *Vīraśaivamatasaṁvardhinī* (compiled and edited by P. R. Karibasava Sāstri) widow-marriage is prohibited in Vīraśaiva society. Prof. Sircar observed that anybody having knowledge about the Vīraśaivas knows that they follow the custom of widow-remarriage, so that the work referred to by Sri Bhattacharya seems to be written in an attempt to effect changes in the Vīraśaiva society.

4. Sri R. K. Billorey read his paper on 'the Yakṣa and Yakṣī Figures of the Mauryan Period'. He said that the Maurya period, and not the Śuṅga age, should be regarded as the beginning of the indigenous art of India and that the views of Prof. N. R. Ray and Prof. S. K. Saraswati that Maurya art is purely court art is wrong. He said that the large number of terracotta figurines relating to folk production from the Mauryan levels at various ancient sites should be taken into account. Sri Billorey referred to Prof. Ray's comparative study of the Didārgañj Yakṣī and the Yakṣī figure of the Mathurā relief both of which were assigned to the 2nd century A.D. on stylistic grounds. According to Sri Billorey, their affinity is accidental and therefore they cannot be assigned to the same age. In his opinion, the Pārkham Yakṣa is earlier than the Didārgañj Yakṣī and the former is more primitive in character, while the latter is a curious mixture of the primitive and highly developed feelings. He further said that the Mauryan period was the flowering epoch of the Indian folk tradition and, for the first time, an attempt was made to use stone for folk productions as is evident from the Yakṣa and Yakṣī figures. Sri Billorey did not agree with Prof. Saraswati's view that human figure is conspicuously absent in Maurya art and referred to a large number of Mauryan terracotta figurines and the Yakṣa and Yakṣī figures.

Prof. D. C. Sircar congratulated Sri Billorey, who is the first M.A. student of AIHC to read a paper at the Monthly Seminar, for the independence of his thinking. He observed that different scholars have pronounced different theories about the dates of the sculptures; but since a single art object cannot be both Maurya and Śuṅga, the theory of one group of scholars must be wrong. Sri D. K. Biswas said that the theories appear to be based on insufficient data.

5. Prof. D. C. Sircar read three of his notes entitled (1) 'Kapilavatthu', (2) 'Alleged Inscription of Khāravela', and (3) 'Text and Translation of Some Candra Inscriptions from East Bengal'. In the first note, Prof. Sircar pointed out that Pali *Kapilavatthu* has been generally taken wrongly as Sanskrit *Kapilavastu*. He observed that Pali *vatthu*

stands for both *vastu* and *vāstu* in Sanskrit, but that the name should be *Kapilavāstu* and not *Kapilavastu* since tradition associates it with the *vāstu* or habitation of the sage Kapila.

6. In the second note, Prof. Sircar referred to an inscription found at Guntupally in the West Godavari District and published by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam in the Andhra Pradesh Archaeological series. It has been ascribed to the Kaliṅga king Khāravela by Dr. Subrahmanyam who thinks that the king's name is not mentioned, but that he is called by his dynastic name Mahāmeghavāhana. According to Prof. Sircar, the record cannot be assigned to a period earlier than the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. on palaeographical grounds, so that the king mentioned in it cannot be Khāravela. Prof. Sircar also rejected the contention that the inscription does not mention the Mahāmeghavāhana king's personal name since it refers to *Mahārāja* Sada of the Mahāmeghavāhana clan, who was the lord of Kaliṅga and Mahiṣaka. Prof. Sircar further observed that the epigraph records the gift of Cūla-Goma, a scribe of the said king. The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it points to Mahāmeghavāhana rule in the Godavari region long after Khāravela (1st century B.C.).

7. In the third note, Prof. Sircar dealt with certain mistakes in the reading and interpretation of three copper-plate grants of the Candra dynasty of East Bengal—two of Laḍahacandra and one of Govindacandra, published by Prof. A. H. Dani in the *Pakistan Archaeology*, 1966. Prof. Sircar pointed out that, in a number of places, the word *vaṁśa* (*vaṁśa*) has been wrongly read as *Vaṅga*, so that *Candra-vaṁśa* has been made the meaningless *Candra-Vaṅga*. Likewise, the quite common Purāṇic conception regarding the moon springing from the eye of the sage Atri has been totally missed by misconstruing *Atri-netrāt*, 'from Atri's eye', as *a-Trinetrāt* regarded strangely as both 'from the Three-eyed god', and 'not from the Three-eyed god'. In this connection, Sri D. K. Biswas drew attention to B. C. Mazumdar's reading of *śītāṁśu-vaṁśa as śītāṁga-vaṅga* in the Maranjamura plates.

[The first and second notes are published respectively in the *Calcutta Review*, July-September, 1969, pp. 69-70, and above, pp. 30 ff.]

XXXIII

Thursday, the 14th August, 1969.

Present: Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Sm. C. Sengupta, M.A., L.L.B.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sm. K. Goswami, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings : Sri B. P. Mishra read a note entitled 'Dadhīca and Dadhyañc' in which he sought to trace the historical development of the story of Dadhīca. According to him, the germ of the story occurs in the *Ṛgveda* which refers to the killing of the ninety-nine Vṛtras by Indra with the help of Dadhīca's bones. He quoted from Sāyaṇa's commentary and the *Bṛhaddevatā* to show that the *madhuvidyā* was first proclaimed by Indra to Dadīca who according to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* taught that science to the Aśvins by using a horse's head. Sri Mishra pointed out that a reference to the story is found in the *Mahābhārata*. Some slightly different versions are found in the Purāṇas.

Prof. Sircar observed that 'Dadhīci' as the form of the name is found in some Purāṇas and appears to have become more popular in some areas than Dadhyañc and Dadhīca. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee asked whether there is any allegorical significance in the story as found in the Vedas and the Purāṇas. Sri Mishra replied in the negative.

2. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read a paper entitled 'Some Problems regarding the Date of the *Rāmāyaṇa*', in which he said that Books II-VI of the *Rāmāyaṇa* were composed before the *Mahābhārata*. Dr. Chatterjee pointed out that some of the cities like Jaṭāpura, Candracitra, Prāgjyotiṣa [of the west], Prāgvaṭa, Kaliṅganagara (on the Gomatī) and Rājagṛha-Girivraja (in the Kekaya country) mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* were not known to the *Mahābhārata*. In his opinion, only the latest portion of the *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to Takṣaśilā and Puṣkarāvatī and, barring an interpolated verse of the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa, there is no reference to the Buddha or his followers. The poem does not mention any king of the Lunar dynasty after Pūru, although it knows Hāstinapura and Kuru-jāṅgala. On the other hand, Dr. Chatterjee observed, the *Mahābhārata* not only contains the Rāma legend as described in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but also mentions the poem itself. According to Dr. Chatterjee, almost the entire poem was completed before the days of the Buddha and Mahāvīra. He also referred to the *Dasaratha-jātaka* which, according to him, is nothing but a highly distorted version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that both the Buddhists and the Jains purposely distorted stories found in Brāhmaṇical literature and no reliance can be placed on their versions. Prof. Sircar did not accept Dr. Chatterjee's argument based on what he called *argumentum ex silentio* and argued in favour of the dates of the two epics as proposed by Hopkins and Winternitz, viz. the *Mahābhārata* composed between the 4th century B.C. and the 4th century A.D. and the *Rāmāyaṇa* between the 2nd century B.C. and the 2nd century A.D. In connection with the *Dasaratha-jātaka*, Dr. Chatterjee pointed out that it gives 16,000 years as the period of Rāma's reign while the

Rāmāyaṇa puts the figure as 11,000. Sri D. K. Biswas observed that a comparative study of the Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist and Jain versions of the stories would be interesting.

3. Dr. S. P. Singh read a paper on the antiquities from Bhelāvar (Gaya District, Bihar). He was of the opinion that some of these antiquites belong to the Gupta age as they contain writing of that period. Some of the potsherds, according to him, belong to the pre-NBP times. He exhibited the potsherds and some other NBP pieces. He also displayed 5 silver and 3 copper punch-marked coins and 7 cast copper coins. He next exhibited some inscribed clay balls, which bore personal names one of which was Devacandramittravaṭu written in Gupta characters. Dr. Singh thought that this person was probably a distant scion of the Mitra dynasty.

Prof. D. C. Sircar thanked Dr. Singh for bringing to light such interesting antiquities. Both Prof. Sircar and Sri D. K. Biswas, however, took Devacandramitra to be a private individual.

[The inscribed terracotta balls from Bhelāvar have been published above, pp. 17 ff.]

4. Prof. D. C. Sircar read his paper entitled '*Nigama* and *Śreṇi*' in which he revised some of his old views and propounded a few fresh theories. He pointed out that records like the Damodarpur plates speak of an *adhikaraṇa* which was a *pañcāyat*-type institution and consisted not only of the *Nagaraśreṣṭhin, Sārthavāha, Prathama-Kulika* and *Prathama-Kāyastha* but some other members and resembled the *Cauthiyā* of Rajasthan, which is headed by the Nagarseṭh and consists of members like the Paṭel and the Paṭwārī. In Prof. Sircar's opinion, the institution called *adhikaraṇa* is the same as the *nigama-sabhā* mentioned in a Nasik inscription of 120 A.D., which suggests that such a *sabhā* exercised some sort of jurisdiction over the *śreṇis* or guilds. The same state of things is further known from a Nagarjunikonda inscription which speaks of the *nigama* (*i.e. nigama-sabhā*) headed by the *Śreṣṭhin*. The inscription records the construction of a *devakula* and *sthala* by a lady and the creation of an endowment by her for their upkeep by depositing money in certain guilds. A passage of this inscription is now interpreted by Prof. Sircar to mean that, if the *śreṇis* or guilds accepting the deposits of *akṣaya-nīvī* (permanent endowment) do not perform their part of the contract, the *nigama* (*nigama-sabhā*) headed by the *Śreṣṭin* should compel them to do it. His old suggestion, Prof. Sircar observed, that the *citraṇa* (white washing, etc.) of the *devakula* and *sthala* would have to be done by the creator of the endowment is palpably wrong. Sri D. Mukherjee wanted to know why it should be regarded as wrong, and Prof. Sircar said, "Because this is obviously one of the purposes for which the endowment was created. Moreover, no personal, and therefore temporary, arrangement would have served the purpose of the creation

of the *devakula* and *sthala*." Prof. Sircar further observed how *nigama* (literally, a township) and *nagara* (literally, a town) gradually assumed, in the medieval period, the meanings of the mercantile population or corporation of a township or town.

XXXIV

Thursday, the 18th September, 1969.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. P. Singh, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sm. S. Das, M.A.; Sm. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings : Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay read his paper entitled 'Coin-names associated with Places' in which he dealt with two classes of names, viz. (i) *Īla-kkāśu, Cīna-kkanakam* and *Mevādyā nāṇā*, named after the Īlam, Cīna and Mevāḍa countries, and (ii) coin-names like *Lokkiya-visā, Lokki-gadyāṇa* and *Nellūr-māḍai* and *Balotra* mentioned previously in a note by Prof. D. C. Sircar, and the *Nellūr-puḍu-māḍai* minted at Nellore, the *Navagrāma-dramma* minted at Navagrāma, and the *Gokaṇa-gadyāṇa, Gokaṇa-rūka* and *Gokaṇa-siṅgu-rūka* which, as he pointed out, were either named after Gokarṇa, the well-known place of pilgrimage in the South, or after a person of that name. According to Dr. Bandyopadhyay, the coin mentioned as *Kaḍuri-Gokaṇa-siṅga-ruka,* known from a Kākatīya record, was probably a coin of one Gokaṇa and bore the representation of a lion, while Gokaṇa's native place called Kaḍuri was probably the same as Kaḍuripura of the Jedcherla inscription.

Prof. D. C. Sircar pointed out the difference between coins described as Chinese or Ceylonese money and those minted in a locality like Devagrāma. He further observed that the Nellūr-puḍu-māḍai was similar to the Nellūr-māḍai coins minted at Nellore.

2. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read his note entitled 'The *Kathāsaritsāgara* on Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Life'. He said that the work delineates a sophisticated society in which gambling, theft, prostitution and various kinds of frauds were in practice. He pointed out that even the persons belonging to the highest caste were not free from these vices and that a Brāhmaṇa named Vasubhūti is described as *Caura-camūpati*, i.e. the leader of the band of robbers. Dr. Chatterjee further said that women are painted in dark colour, though there are

also references to virtuous ladies. He showed that there are descriptions of ship-wrecks, horrors of famine and hardship of the people.

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that most of the said characteristics of society are not only noticed in other works, but are even now noticed in the Indian society. He did not agree with Dr. Chatterjee's view that Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* is a literal translation of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, because, in Prof. Sircar's opinion, the Vikramāditya stories could not have developed in the days of Guṇāḍhya who flourished at the Śātavāhana court long before the Gupta Vikramādityas. Sri D. Mukherjee observed that the Paiśācī Prakrit in which the *Bṛhatkathā* was composed was different from Mahārāṣṭrī, the Prakrit of the Maharashtra region. Prof. Sircar said that Paiśācī exhibits both Dravidian and Iranian influences.

3. Sri B. P. Mishra read his paper entitled 'Mythological Importance of a Verse occurring in the *Yajurveda*' in which he commented on the view that Vedic *Gaṇapati* and *Nidhipati* were not identical with Gaṇeśa and Kubera respectively. He argued that the name Gaṇapati occurs in the *Ṛgveda* as an epithet of Indra and Brahmaṇaspati, though it may not be the same as Gaṇapati of the *Yajurveda*. Sri Mishra pointed out that the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* mentions Gaṇapati along with Priyapati and Nidhipati, and the *Rudrādhyāya* mentions him with Senānī, while, in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*, Gaṇapati appears with elephant's head and should, therefore, be regarded as identical with Gaṇeśa. In Sri Mishra's opinion, the elephant's head of Gaṇeśa may be due to the demoniac characteristics of Rudra-Śiva with whom he was associated. He regarded Priyapati as the same as Kāmadeva.

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that, on the coins of Huviṣka who flourished in the second century A.D., a god resembling Śiva Tripurāntaka is called Gaṇeśa, while the elephant-headed Gaṇeśa has not been traced earlier than the latest sections of the *Mahābhārata*, generally assigned to he fourth century A.D. In his opinion, Kubera was originally the protector of the Northern quarter and only later became the god of wealth. Sri D. K. Biswas said that the Vedic concept of particular gods should not be confused with their description in the Purāṇas. He pointed out that, in the Vedic literature, Yamī was the sister of Yama; but according to the Purāṇas, Yama's sister is Yamunā, a quite different character. He also said that mere verbal similarity of names is not enough to prove identity. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya did not accept Sri Mishra's identification of Priyapati with Kāmadeva because there is no support for this in the Purāṇas. Sri Mishra said that Monier-Williams recognises the word in the sense of 'the lord of the beloved or desired', i.e. Kāmadeva.

4. Dr. A. N. Lahiri read a note on 'A Unique Commemorative Coin of Devamāṇikya'. He said that the *Rājamālā* account of Devamāṇikya, son of Dhanyamāṇikya, is obscure, but that two of his

taṅkas bearing the obverse legend *śrī-śrī- Devamāṇikyadeva-śrī-Padmāvatīdevyau*, and the Tripurā lion and the date Śaka 1448 on the reverse, are known. Dr. Lahiri referred to another coin of Devamāṇikya recently collected by a Calcutta dealer, which bears the legend *Suvarṇagrāma-vijayi-śrī-śrī-Devamāṇikya-śrī-Padmāvatyau*, and the date Śaka 1450. He pointed out that the coin commemorates the conquest of Suvarṇagrāma (Dacca District), a stronghold of the Sulṭān of Bengal, by the Tripurā king. Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that the coin is valuable for the reconstruction of the history of Tripurā, for which the *Rājamālā*, written about the 18th century in his opinion, is often not of much help.

5. Prof. D. C. Sircar read two of his notes entitled (1) 'National Museum Image Inscription of the time of *Mahīpāla* and (2) 'Cleveland Museum Image Inscription of Year 313'. A photograph of the first inscription engraved on a bronze figure of Viṣṇu, now in the National Museum, New Delhi, was received by Prof. Sircar from Dr. U. P. Shah of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, for offering his reading and interpretation. Prof. Sircar read and translated the inscription as follows: (1) [Symbol.] *Rājādhirāja-paramesvara-śrī-Mahipāladeva-* (2) (2) *rāje Mahāvodha-grāme Muvuṣṭikā -mahatama-Vasyadervā-su-* (3) *ta-Vālikāya devadharmmo=yaḥ* (*Rājādhirāja-parameśvara-śrī-Mahīpāla-deva-rājye Mahābodhi-grāme Muvuṣṭhikā-mahattama-Vaśyadeva-sutā-Bālikāyāḥ devadharmo='yam*), "This [image] is the religious gift of Bālikā, the daughter of Vaśyadevā, the headman of the village of Mūvuṣṭhikā, [installed] at the village of Mahābodhi during the reign of the illustrious *Rājādhirāja-Parameśvara* Mahīpāla." Thus the epigraph may be assigned to the reign of the Pāla king Mahīpāla I (c. 985-1035 A.D.) of Bengal and Bihar. Prof. Sircar suggested that the image was manufactured in the Gaya region and that the inscription points to the existence of Brāhmaṇical shrines at Mahābodhi or Bodhgayā which is a famous Buddhist holy place.

6. Photographs and inked impressions of the second inscription, engraved on the pedestal of a bronze image of the Buddha, were received by Prof. Sircar from Dr. Stanislaw Czuma of the Department of Oriental Art, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Ohio, U.S.A., for offering his views on it. Prof. Sircar read and translated the inscription as follows: (1) [Symbol.] *Deyadharmmo=yaṁ Laḍita-grāme Yaṁkhalli[yā]re Śā°-bhikṣuṇyā* (2) *Pariśuddhamatyā yad=attra puṇyaṁ tad=bhavatu sarvva-satvā(ttvā)nāñ=ca* (3) *[a]nuttara-sarvva-jña-jñān-āvāptaye* ‖ *Saṁvat* (4) *300 10 3* || *[Chaitya]kūṭa-Jina-banna-vihāre pūrvva-bh-ūddeśśe(śe)* [||] (5) *piṇḍakena bhojanaṁ karttavya-(m*)* || "This [image] is the religious gift of the Buddhist nun (*Śākya-bhikṣuṇī*) Pariśuddhamati. Whatever religious merit acrues to it, let it be for the attainment of the supreme knowledge of the All-knowing (Buddha) by all beings. In the year 313. In the land lying

in the east at the Banna-vihāra of the Caityakūṭa-Jina. The feeding (*bhojana*) [of the deity] has to be done by means of alms (*piṇḍaka*)." Prof. Sircar pointed out that the year 313 should be referred to the Gupta era so that the date of the inscription is 632 A.D. *Śā°* stands for *Śākya*. The image was installed near the Banna-vihāra (probably Sanskrit *Parṇa-vihāra*, 'thatched monastery') in which the Caityakūṭa-Jina (Buddha) was worshipped. Because the poor nun Pariśuddhamati failed to make any provision for daily worship of the deity, she stipulated that the *naivedya* offerings should have to be made out of whatever was received as alms.

Prof. Sircar pointed out that this dated inscription is important for its palaeography. He said that the inscription should be assigned to the eastern part of the Indian sub-continent (including Nepal) and that this is indicated by the letter *sa* which resembles its form as noticed often in the East Indian epigraphs of the 6th and 7th centuries A.D., e.g., the records of Dharmāditya, Gopacandra, Śaśāṅka and Jayanāga. Initial *a* suggests a date between the Bodhgayā inscription (588 A.D.) of Mahānāman and the Aphsaḍ inscription (c. 672 A.D.) of Ādityasena. The older tripartite form of *ya* is generally found in epigraphs earlier than the Bodhgayā inscription; but it is also noticed in a few later epigraphs of the early part of the seventh century, e.g., the Dubi plates of Bhāskaravarman. *Ka* (cf. *piṇḍakena*) of the round-back type is found in the Bodhgayā inscription and later records; but *la* is of the type as found in the Faridpur plates of Dharmāditya and Gopacandra. The forms of 3, 10 and 100, slightly later than those in this inscription, are found in the Pratihāra and Nepal epigraphs. Considering all these points, the palaeography of the inscription may be regarded as suiting the date 632 A.D. quite well.

There was some discussion on Prof. Sircar's papers in which Sri D. Mukherjee, Dr. D. R. Das and others took part.

[The first inscription has not yet been published by Dr. Shah; but the second epigraph has recently been briefly noticed in *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, February, 1970, pp. 61 ff.]

XXXV

Thursday, the 9th October, 1969.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D. Phil.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. P. Singh, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sri R. K. Billorey, M.A.; Sri M. S. S. Mohana

Nehru, M.A.; Sm. A. Bandyopadhyay, B.A.; Sm. M. Mukhopadhyay, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings: Sri R. K. Billorey read his paper entitled "Achaemenian Elements in Mauryan Court Art" in which he pointed out that the Achaemenian influence was purely technical and quite insignificant. As regards the participation of foreign craftsmen in the construction of the Maurya emperor's palace at Pāṭaliputra and of the Aśokan pillars, there is no definite evidence. The Indian artist, according to Sri Billorey, had his early training in the indigenous school while the development of his characteristics was the result of his experience gathered later in life. The role of the employed craftsmen, he observed, was restricted to that of mere execution. He further opined that the first step taken by the Indians in the field of art was a steady self-development, and indigenous hands were responsible for clearing the path and finding the way. Sri Billorey was inclined to accept the view that the Mauryan polish was an indigenous development though the problem of its disappearance immediately after Maurya rule remains unsolved.

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that Achaemenian influence is quite clear on the Aśokan edicts in the words *dipi* and *nipiśta* and the preamble *Devānāmpriyaḥ Priyadarśī rājā evam=āha,* so that it is not at all impossible that Mauryan art was likewise influenced to some extent. Sri D. K. Biswas observed that Sri Billorey was not denying that fact. The disappearance of the Mauryan polish immediately after the Mauryas, Prof. Sircar said, may suggest that it came from outside. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay deplored that the cause of the disappearance is not satisfactorily explained. Sri Biswas believed that there was some script before Aśokan Brāhmī and referred in this connection to Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. Prof. Sircar referred to Pāṇini's reference to the Yavana writing and also observed that the Brāhmī alphabet may have been fabricated out of the pictographic Harappan writing just as the Japanese alphabet was created out of the Chinese writing.

2. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read his note entitled 'Pauṇḍra Vāsudeva', whom he regarded as an important religious and political rival of the Vṛṣṇi hero Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva. Dr. Chatterjee quoted passages from the *Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata* and *Harivaṁśa Purāṇas* to show that Pauṇḍra Vāsudeva had his own devotees and that he had entered into an alliance with Jarāsandha of Magadha and Śiśupāla of Cedi against the wily Vṛṣṇi hero. According to Dr. Chatterjee, Kṛṣṇa, in spite of his success against Śiśupāla and Jarāsandha, could not kill the Pauṇḍra king, and the latter is mentioned at several places of the *Mahābhārata*. Pauṇḍra Vāsudeva's name is also absent in the long list of Kṛṣṇa's victims given in the Vana-parvan and other places of the epic. Dr. Chatterjee was not prepared to accept the testimony of the later

Paurāṇas according to which Pauṇḍra Vāsudeva was killed by Kṛṣṇa on the battlefield, the works being written by zealous devotees of Kṛṣṇa.

Prof. D. C. Sircar pointed out that the silence of the *Mahābhārata* about the slaughter of Pauṇḍra Vāsudeva by Kṛṣṇa does not prove that the Purāṇic statements to that effect are wrong. In the first place, Prof. Sircar said, it is a fallacious argument called *argumentum ex silentio*. He further observed that, as H. C. Raychaudhuri suggested, the *Mahābhārata* in its present form does not appear to contain all the episodes of the earlier recensions. Prof. Sircar regarded the representation of Pauṇḍra Vāsudeva as the king of Kārūṣa (modern Shahabad District, Bihar) and Kāśī as due to confusion, since an inscription of the Maurya age suggests the location of Puṇḍranagara, i.e. the capital city of the Puṇḍras, at Mahasthan in the Bogra District of North Bengal, now in East Pakistan. In Prof. Sircar's opinion, the Pauṇḍras were living in North Bengal from very early times. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya said that Pauṇḍra Vāsudeva was not a kinsman of the Cedi king Śiśupāla. Sri B. P. Mishra enquired whether the *Mahābhārata* mentions the name of Pauṇḍra's father as Vasudeva. Dr. Chatterjee replied in the negative.

3. Dr. A. N. Lahiri read his paper entitled 'A Commemorative Coin of King Vijayamāṇikya I of Tripurā'. He referred to three series of Vijayamāṇikya's coins issued to commemorate his holy bath in the Brahmaputra, the Lakṣā and the Padmāvatī (Padmā). The newly found coin commemorating Vijayamāṇikya's 'holy bath' in the Padmā is a round silver Ṭaṅka (weighing about 165 grains), with a Śiva-liṅga on the obverse in a small lined square with the following legend in Bengali characters—*Padmāvatī-snāyi-viśveśvara-śrī-Vijayadeva-śrī-Vākdevyau*. On the reverse of the coin, there is, on a square throne supported by eight lions (four of which are clearly visible), the four-handed Viṣṇu being raised by Garuḍa and attended by two human beings on either side. The date is given as Śaka 1485 below the throne. The coin, Dr. Lahiri pointed out, is important, since the concept of Viṣṇu raised by his *vāhana* Garuḍa is unique. He observed that Vijayamāṇikya I ruled upto Śaka 1485 which must have been the last year of his reign since a coin of his son Anantamāṇikya is dated in Śaka 1486.

Prof. Sircar referred to a copper-plate charter of Vijayamāṇikya dated Śaka 1410 which he had published several years ago. Considering the date of Vijayamāṇikya suggested by his coins, there are two possibilities in respect of the said inscription: either the document is a forgery or there was a different Tripurā king named Vijayamāṇikya who ruled for a short time about Śaka 1410.

Dr. Lahiri was inclined to regard the charter as spurious; but Prof. Sircar was doubtful about it because the rent-free ownership of no less than seven villages was created by the record, and the

fraudulent creation of such a big Brahmottara estate in the late medieval period was not easy to pass as genuine. Moreover, how can we explain the mistake in the date? Prof. Sircar did not attach much importance to the silence of the *Rājamālā*. As regards the representation of Viṣṇu held up by Garuḍa, he referred to a similar representation above an inscription of Śaka 1479 discovered at Zampi in the Tiddim Sub-Division, Falam District, Chin Hills, Burma. Dr. Lahiri referred to the four queens of Vijayamāṇikya as Vijayā. Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and Vāgdevī. He also referred to the legend on some other coins which yield the names of three queens as Jayā, Lakṣmī and Gaurī. Dr. S. P. Singh said that the figures taken by Dr. Lahiri to be lions may be those of horses.

Prof. Sircar observed that the animals represented on the Zampi stone are not lions.

[The paper has been published above, pp. 23ff.]

XXXVI

Thursday, the 27th November, 1969.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A.. LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. P. Singh, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sm. A. Majumdar, M.A.; Sri M. S. S. Mohana Nehru, M.A.; Sm. K. Goswami, M.A.; Sri R. K. Billorey, M.A., and others.

Proceedings : Prof. D.C. Sircar referred to the recent death of the great French Orientalist Prof. G. Coedès, and the persons present paid their respectful homage to the departed savant by standing for two minutes in silence. Sri A. C. Chakravarti, the latest pupil of Prof. Coedès read a note on the career and activities of the Professor.

2. Sri R. K. Billorey read a note entitled 'Character of Maurya Art'. According to him, the art of the Maurya period should not be viewed as an isolated phenomenon. but rather was a continuation of the pre-Mauryan art tradition. The Maurya art, Sri Billorey observed, is not homogeneous, although, in some of its specimens, we find a creative fusion of different trends.

Sri D. K. Biswas wanted to know the specimens exhibiting a synthesis of different art traditions in the Mauryan art. Sri Billorey replied that such synthesis is discernible in the crowning lions belonging to the early phase such as the Basarh-Bakhira and Lauriya-Nandangarh pillars.

Prof. D. C. Sircar suggested that geographical factors may be responsible for the heterogeneous character of the art in the Maurya period. Sri Biswas said that the difference between the Dhauli and Kalsi elephants may also be due to the taste and preference of the artists and not to the fact that they belong to different art traditions.

3. Sri B. P. Mishra then read a note entitled 'Some Minor Factors responsible for the Development of Purāṇic Legends' in which he discussed the influence of Vedic legends on the mythology of the Purāṇas. According to Sri Mishra, almost all the epico-Purāṇic characters exhibit the influence of the Vedic gods, the actions of the former being similar to those of the latter. The Purāṇic poet who recounted the story regarding the levelling of the earth by Pṛthu had certainly in mind the Ṛgvedic story of Indra's levelling of the earth. The Ahalyā and Amṛtamanthana stories of the epics and Purāṇas have likewise their germs in the Vedic literature.

Prof. Sircar agreed that some of the epico-Purāṇic legends have their origin in the Vedic tradition, although some of Sri Mishra's arguments appeared to him somewhat far-fetched. While referring to some late traditions as resulting from confused ideas, Prof. Sircar mentioned a stanza enumerating the objects arising from the churning of the ocean by the gods and demons, in which the Uccaiḥśravas is described as seven-faced. Sri Mishra said that, as the Uccaiḥśravas is the horse of the Sun-god and as the traditional number of horses drawing the chariot of that deity is seven, these two ideas may have been combined in the said epithet. Prof. Sircar, however, pointed out that the Uccaiḥśravas was Indra's horse, not the Sun-god's, though the confusion between seven horses and a horse with seven faces could have been probable.

4. Dr. S. P. Singh then read his paper on 'Discovery of Śrī-Vigraha Coins in Bihar', in which he criticised the views of those who assign the coins to Bhoja I and also those who prefer to regard them as Pāla coins. He pointed out that Bhoja I never assumed the title of *Śrī-Vigraha*. Dr. Singh further argued that no coins of the Pālas have so far been discovered. According to him most of the coins of the Śrī-Vigraha type found in Bihar and elsewhere are close imitations of the *Ādivarāha-dramma* of Bhoja I, so that the coins may have been imitation money issued by the moneyers.

Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay said that he had offered similar suggestions about the Śrī-Vigraha coins in a paper read at the Annual Numismatic Conference held at Patna in October, 1969, and that Dr. Singh's paper contained mostly a summary of well-known views of numismatists. Prof. Sircar observed that the Śrī-Vigraha coins were probably in circulation for a long time and that Dr. Singh may be right in suggesting that they are mostly imitation coins issued by moneyers. But he pointed out that the original issuer of the Śrī-Vigraha or Vigra-

hapāla and Vigrahatuṅga coins cannot be identified in the present state of our knowledge.

5. Prof. D. C. Sircar read his paper on 'Rāmagupta of the Vidiśā Inscriptions' which dealt with the Vidiśā epigraphs engraved on the pedestal of three images of the Jain Tīrthaṅkaras (two of Candraprabha and one of Puṣpadanta) which are stated to have been caused to be made by *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāmagupta under instructions from the Jain mendicant Cella. The inscriptions, Prof. Sircar observed, have been published in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute* (March, 1969) wherein the king has been identified with Rāmagupta who, according to the *Devīcandragupta* tradition, was the Gupta emperor of Magadha about 376 A.D. This is based primarily on the supposition that the characters of the records are similar to those of the Sanchi inscription of Candragupta II (376-413 A.D.). Prof. Sircar discussed the palaeography of a number of letters in the Vidiśā inscriptions and observed that the epigraphs cannot be assigned to any date earlier than the sixth century A.D., so that Rāmagupta may have been a scion of the Later Gupta dynasty of East Malwa, founded by Kṛṣṇagupta about the close of the fifth century A.D. He pointed out that, unlike the Imperial Guptas, who were worshippers of Viṣṇu, Rāmagupta, whose copper coins and inscriptions have been found only in East Malwa and who was apparently a local ruler of the Malwa region, was a Jain. Prof. Sircar further observed that Rāmagupta can be regarded as a scion of the Imperial Gupta dynasty only when we discover his gold coins of the Gupta fabric and his inscription or seal representing him as the descendant of a known member of the Gupta family, because the details of the theme of even a 'historical' drama like the *Devīcandragupta* are not often quite unhistorical.

On an examination of the illustrations of the said inscriptions, Sri D. K. Biswas agreed with Prof. Sircar that the characters are much later that c. 376 when the king responsible for them is supposed to have flourished. Sri A. C. Chakravarti observed that the writing appears to belong to the seventh century A.D.

[The paper has been published above, pp. 145 ff.]

XXXVII

Thursday, the 22nd January, 1970.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A. LL.B., D.Phil.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sm. S. Das, M.A.;

Sm. S. Bandyopadhyay, B.A.; Sri M. S. S. Mohana Nehru M.A.; and others.

Proceedings : Prof. D. C. Sircar read an obituary note on the late Dr. B. C. Law which was followed by another obituary note on the late Dr. B. B. Majumdar written by Dr. B. P. Mazumdar and read out by Dr. S. K. Mitra.

2. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee then read his note on 'Theft in Ancient India'. He referred to cattle-lifting which was widely prevalent since Vedic times, the *Ṛgveda* using for it the term *steya*. Dr. Chatterjee pointed out that thieves included persons of all castes and communities. He quoted instances from literary works showing that even Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas sometimes adopted theft as a profession. In this connection he mentioned the Brāhmaṇa Vasubhūti described in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* as a robber. Dr. Chatterjee further observed that the Law-books prescribe for the thieves of higher social status and position greater penalties than those of inferior castes and position. He then referred to the well-known *Mṛcchakaṭika* passage speaking of Kārttikeya as the favourite deity of thieves and robbers. Dr. Chatterjee maintained that, in ancient India, unlike Egypt or Greece, there was no special robber caste.

Sri D. Mukherjee observed that there were actually robber castes in South India. Dr. Chatterjee replied that such castes sprang into existence in the medieval period and added that he had occasion to mention some such castes in his unpublished thesis entitled *Origin and Development of the Cult of Skanda-Kārttikeya in Ancient India.* Dr. D. R. Das observed that there are epigraphic references to cattle-lifting. Prof D. C. Sircar drew Dr. Chatterjee's attention to his own notes on theft and robbery and to the *Ṣaṇmukhakalpam* a work on topics including the said subject, on which Sri D. Mukherjee spoke at a previous Monthly Seminar of the Centre. Prof. Sircar observed that many of the points raised by Dr. Chatterjee had been previously discussed. He advised Dr. Chatterjee to make an intensive study of any aspect of the subject even though a comprehensive thesis on theft and robbery in ancient India was ready for submission for the D. Phil. degree of Calcutta University by a youngman named K. P. Hore.

3. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee then read another note entitled 'From Somadeva to Shakespeare' in which he discussed the similarity of a story found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (II. 5.54 ff.) with the story of Imogen told by Shakespeare in his well-known comedy *Cymbeline* and that of Ginevra appearing in Boccaccio's *Decameron* (Book II. Novel 9). Dr. Chatterjee pointed out that the similarity of the character and actions of the heroines in the above-mentioned stories are too striking to be accidental. In all the stories, the heroine takes the disguise of a boy and comes out of her trouble as pure, and her honesty is vindicated and the villain shamed or punished, and she gets

her husband back. The hero also, in all these stories, makes an initial slip, but realises his mistake afterwards. All the stories speak of a ruler who comes to the rescue of the insulted and injured. Dr. Chatterjee finally observed that the Indian story of the virtuous wife and her husband probably reached Europe through merchants and travellers in the Middle Ages.

Prof. D. C. Sircar drew Dr. Chatterjee's attention to Penzer's excellent note on the said motif in his edition of Tawney's translation of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (The Ocean of Story). He pointed out that Penzer's note speaks of a number of stories of the same type including the one in the *Decameron*.

4. Prof. D. C. Sircar then exhibited the photograph of an inscription found at the village of Zampi in the Tiddim Sub-Division of the Falam District, Chin Hills, Burma. He also displayed the photograph of an engraving above the writing, in which Garuḍa is represented as holding Viṣṇu above his head, with a number of animals below. He pointed out that the inscription and the engraving were both mentioned by him in the course of discussion on Dr. A. N. Lahiri's note on a coin of king Vijayamāṇikya of Tripurā read at the Monthly Seminar held at the Centre on the 9th October, 1969. Prof. Sircar pointed out that while Dr. Lahiri regarded the animals represented on the coins as lions, Dr. S. P. Singh thought that they were horses, though the Zampi epigraph seems to suggest that they may be ponies or mules. They appear to be smaller in size than horses while the absence of horns seems to preclude the possibility of their identification with goats. The photographs of the epigraph and engraving were received by Prof. Sircar, for study and report, from the Director of Archaeology, Burma, as well as from the Chief Epigraphist in the Archaeological Survey of India. The inscription is written in seven lines in old Bengali characters, though the letters are very carelessly formed so that the writing is difficult to decipher. At the end of line 5, we have *Śakāvadāḥ* (*bdāḥ*) *1479* showing that the record was incised in Śaka 1479=1557 A.D., which is a date falling in the reign period of king Vijayamāṇikya of Tripurā. At the end of the epigraph in line 7 we have *910* which, however, cannot be regarded as the corresponding date in the Tripura era (counted from 589-90 A.D.), Magī or Arakanese era (counted from 638-39 A.D.) or Maṇipur (Candra) era (counted from c. 790 A.D.) Year 910 of the Magī era would correspond to 1548-49 A.D. which is nearest to the Śaka date of the record corresponding to 1557-58 A.D. In Prof. Sircar's opinion, the inscription records some grant made in favour of a Vaiṣṇava temple of the locality, and the crescent with globular mark above the deity indicates the moon while the eight other globular marks on the two sides of the god represent the eight other *grahas*. The implication of the presence of nine grahas

in a record of gift is that the gift would last as long as the planets endure.

There was some discussion on the animals represented in the engraving above the inscription.

XXXVIII

Thursday, the 12th February, 1970

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair) ; Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LL.B., D.Phill.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. P. Singh, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sm. A. Majumdar, M.A.; Sri M. S. S. Mohana Nehru, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings : Sri B. P. Mishra read his note on Hanumat and tried to show the divine as well as the demoniac aspect of his character. The divine aspect, Sri Mishra observed, may have developed out of the Vedic conception of Vṛṣākapi. He further argued that Vṛṣākapi is the first monkey who comes into contact with the gods. In the *Mahābhārata*, Vṛṣākapi is one of the forms of Rudra. Elsewhere Hanumat is said to be an incarnation of Rudra who is closely connected, Sri Mishra suggested, with the Maruts of the *Ṛgveda* in which Rudra is the father of the Maruts while, due to metathesis of characterization, Vāyu (i.e. the Maruts) is represented in the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition as the father of Hanumat, i.e. Rudra. Sri Mishra further pointed out that Hanumat is a mountain-lifter and that this characteristic may have developed from the Vedic idea of the Maruts causing the mountains to quack.

Regarding the demoniac aspects of the divinity, Sri Mishra observed that Hanumat once appears in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as a rival of Indra, while Vṛṣākapi appears in the *Ṛgveda* as subjected to Indrāṇī's anger. Indra struck Hanumat with his *vajra* and consequently fractured his chin (*hanu*) and this, Sri Mishra contended, is reminiscent of the story how Vṛtra's *hanu* was broken by a stroke of Indra's bolt. The incident of Hanumat going to devour the Sun was regarded by Sri Mishra as inspired by the story of Vṛtra's encompassing the Sun.

Sri R. P. Majumdar disagreed with Sri Mishra and observed that some resemblance between the characters of Vedic and Purāṇic deities does not prove that they are identical. He referred to Parikṣit of the Vedic literature, who is certainly not identical with the Purāṇic

character of that name. Sri Mishra replied that he did not identify Vṛṣākapi and Hanumat, but suggested that the idea of monkey attendants and their relation with the gods and human beings might have developed from the former's characteristics. Prof. D. C. Sircar said that there may have been some relation between Vṛṣākapi and Hanumat, while Sri D. Mukherjee thought that the two characters are quite different.

2. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read his note entitled 'Interesting References in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.' While mentioning certain passages as throwing light on various aspects of ancient Indian life, he first referred to a case of widow-pension not known from any other source. Dr. Chatterjee then commented on the strained relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law as revealed by the work and quoted a verse in this connection. He also cited a case of widow-remarriage and a few references to cheats and quacks. Finally, he quoted a few verses dealing with various kinds of strange mechanical instruments, but expressed the opinion that most of the instruments may have existed in the author's imagination. Prof. D. C. Sircar also regarded the descriptions of the instruments as generally fanciful, but said that the 'earth-machine', which probably meant a kind of automatic lock, may have existed in reality. In this connection, Prof. Sircar also referred to the *Rathamuṣala* which is mentioned in the Buddhist literature and was a contrivance making clubs tied to a chariot move when the latter moved. Regarding the widow-pension, Prof. Sircar said that it must have been a case of liberality on the part of the master of the widow's deceased husband. He referred to grants made by kings in favour of the heirs of persons giving up their lives on their behalf and placed them in the same category.

[The note has been published above, pp. 152. ff.]

3. Prof. D. C. Sircar read his paper entitled 'Number of Ratnas' in which he tried to show that, although the gems are said to be five, nine or eighteen in number and the word *ratna* is used in late works in the senses of 5, 9 and 18. originally only five *ratnas* were recognised He pointed out that the conception of the nine gems developed out of the desire of the people to propitiate the nine *grahas* (planets) in the medieval period. The tradition about the nine gems at the court of the legendary king Vikramāditya, Prof. Sircar pointed out, is noticed for the first time in the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* of the thirteenth or sixteenth century. In Prof. Sircar's opinion, the said tradition is a medieval concoction of no historical value and cannot be early.

There was some discussion on the identification of the gems suitable for propitiating the nine *grahas*, and Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay drew attention to Ṭhakkura Pherū's *Ratnaparīkṣā* composed in the thirteenth century. Prof. Sircar mentioned the sections on gems in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* which, however, does not speak of the propitiation of

planets with the help of gems. Sri B. P. Mishra wanted to know the earliest reference to the *Navagraha* and observed, that since *pañca* is an auspicious number, the conception of *pañcaratna* was earlier. Sri Mishra also referred to the *Agni Purāṇa* which contains sections dealing with gems.

4. Sri R. P. Majumdar read his paper entitled 'Some Late Medieval Temple Inscriptions from Howrah', in which he referred to the Garh-Bhavānīpur Maṇināth temple inscription, dated Śaka 1306, the earliest among the epigraphs noticed by him. He also mentioned two inscriptions from the Penrore Śiva temple, dated in Śaka 1741 and 1713 respectively. Another inscription in six lines noticed by Sri Majumdar is in the Haria Khaḍgeśvara temple and bears the date Śaka 1603. Two more inscriptions, dated Śaka 1636 and 1652, were found in the Govindamañca and Śiva temple at Gazipur. The Sultanpur Śiva temple inscription, Sri Majumdar said, contains twenty lines of writing; but no date is mentioned.

Prof. D. C. Sircar was doubtful about the reading of the dates especially of the first inscription. He also observed that the inscriptions should be properly studied.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

I

THE IRON AGE IN INDIA by N. R. Banerjee, published by Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1965; pages 264; price Rs. 35.00.

Based primarily on archaeological data, Dr. N. R. Banerjee's *The Iron Age in India* is the first comprehensive monograph on the subject. That the writing of such a book has been possible now is a testimony to the progress of archaeological research in India, in which Dr. Banerjee's own excavations have played not an insignificant part.

The problem here is essentially a technological one, an attempt "to produce a well-knit and continuous picture of the technological advance accompanying the use of iron into this land" (p. 2). The attempt unfolds itself in the following pattern : enunciation of the sites and their culture-levels where iron occurs first; determination of their chronology showing one of these iron-bearing levels, the Painted Grey Ware, to be the earliest; the equation of the Painted Grey Ware culture to the Aryans and the elimination of all possible rival claimants; a discussion of the Aryan Problem in general together with the advent of iron in West Asia; and the final assertion that "the prime responsibility for introducing iron in India and spreading it far and wide within the sub-continent can be squarely fixed on the Aryan endeavour" (p. 239). Interspersed in between are some other chapters, all adding up to the main theme : typological comparison of the early iron objects from India with those from Sialk; iron in early historic India; iron smelting of the Indian primitive tribes as an index of the early methods of working; early Indian literary evidence of the use of iron; distribution of iron-ores; early iron-industry at Ujjain; life in the early iron age; and a note on the evidence which has come up since 1962.

The scholarship displayed is admirable. Dr. Banerjee seems to know almost every bit of data and the problems within his range. His acquaintance with the relevant literature, sometimes in German, Dutch and French, seems to be thorough. If occasionally his sense of logic falters as it does in the inclusion of such topics as Harappan architecture and urbanism (p. 77) or of such views as Tilak's Arctic home theory about the Aryans (p. 133), that is largely due to his preoccupation with bringing out the entire garment of problems and hypotheses one is likely to contend with in this particular part of Indian archaeology. The tabulation of the data supplemented by four tables is meticulous and likely to be helpful to all subsequent workers.

One may, however, disagree with Dr. Banerjee's main hypothesis that the Painted Grey Ware culture of the Upper Gangetic Valley, dated around 1000 B.C., is the earliest iron-bearing level in India and that it represents the Aryans. Of the other early iron-using culture-levels in India, Period II of the Central Indian 'Chalcolithic' sites like Nagda, Bahal, Prakash, Eran, etc., should be equally early, if not somewhat earlier. This is evident not only from a recent C-14 date for this level from Eran, but also from the evidence implicit in Dr. Banerjee's own treatment of the problem. His dating of Nagda II is based on the acceptance of the once suggested archaeological dating for the end of the Navdaloli 'Chalcolithic', i.e. 700 B.C., instead of a C-14 date (which he himself cites, p. 37) raising it to 1000 B.C. at least, possibly earlier. If with this we consider C-14 date for the iron-bearing level at Hallur, Mysore, it becomes highly improbable that the Painted Grey Ware culture was the earliest iron-making culture or that it introduced iron in India. Moreover, as has been argued elsewhere (Dilip K. Chakrabarti in *Indian Studies : Past and Present*, Vol. IX, No. 4, pp. 351-53), the suggested Aryan affiliation of this culture falls through because of a totally inadequate typological comparison between the Painted Grey Ware and the Grey wares of West Asia and of an analysis of its subsistence pattern based on rice, pig, and buffalo suggesting a dominant eastern strain and not a western one as its suggested Aryan authorship would indicate. One may also wonder if the dragging in of the Aryans is quite necessary to explain an archaeological phenomenon "since it generally leads one up a blind alley" (Lawrence S. Leshniak, in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 69, No. 6, December, 1967, p. 776).

The idea that the Megaliths of South India owed themselves to a diffusion of the Megalithic trait from the west through the Baluchistan cairn-burials, another basic theoretical assumption of the monograph, is also unlikely to find recognition at this stage. As the C-14 date from the beginning of the Megalithic level at Hallur has shown, the initial date of the South Indian Megaliths is likely to be earlier than that of the Baluchistan cairn-burials, though the latter is still elastic. Besides, the two groups still seem to possess exclusive geographical distributions and the reported discoveries of Megaliths in Rajasthan and other areas are still too ambiguous, culturally and chronologically to be depended upon.

But it is not merely with Dr. Banerjee's theories that one may disagree; one may object to his entire approach. The beginning and spread of iron technology must have had far-reaching socio-economic consequences in India as it had elsewhere. (For the economic implication of the iron age on a wider level, cf. Heichelheim, *Ancient Economic History*, Vol. I, Chapter V, Section A: The Transition to Iron and its Economic Consequences). Nowhere in the book has this issue been raised

and discussed in a meaningful way. On the contrary, the author allowed himself consistently to be bogged in what Piggott once called 'Indo-European wilderness' (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1958. p. 305). This perhaps is the most vital point of weakness in Dr. Banerjee's otherwise valuable monograph.

DILIP KUMAR CHAKRABARTI

II

EXCAVATION AT DEVNIMORI by R. N. Mehta and S. M. Chowdhary, M. S. University Archaeology Series, No. 8, Baroda, 1966; pp. 197 with 68 Plates; Price Rs. 45.00.

Excavated in 1960-63 by the M. S. University of Baroda, Devnimori in one of the long narrow valleys of North-Eastern Gujarat is primarily a Buddhist site ranging from the 3rd-4th to the 8th-9th centuries A.D., bounded by mediaeval occupation on the one hand and a choronologically undefined microlithic horizon on the other.

The Buddhist complex seems to have centered around the Great Stūpa (Mahāstūpa, as it is called in one of the inscriptions of the place), two-(or perhaps three-)tiered and with two caskets in the core. Casket II, which is inscribed, contained a cylindrical copper vase, itself containing silk bags, a gold bottle and some organic materials. One of the inscriptions clearly places it in the Year 127 of the time scales of the Kathika rulers, during the reign of one Rudrasena, supposedly Rudrasena III of the third quarter of the 4th century A.D. Four other *stūpas,* all votive, were associated with this primary *stūpa* and along with them were two monasteries, an apsidal hall, a rectangular structure and a protecting wall. The antiquities unearthed comprise Buddha images, occasionally of the Gandhāra affinity, beads, coins and diverse objects of metal and glass. Conspicuous among the pottery are three sherds of amphorae, supposedly of Mediterranean origin and containing "resinous substance formed as a result of sedimentation from the liquid that stood in the pot" (p. 77).

The technical aspect of the report reflects faithfully the meticulousness with which the excavations were conducted, though the reproduced photographs seem to leave something to be desired.

As an appendix, Dr. Malik has contributed a note on 'Devnimori, a Microlithic Site of Gujarat,' based not only on the surface occurrences but also on the finds from a trench, dug specifically for the purpose. Besides, typological and comparative analysis faithfully done and the statement, "the Devnimori microlithic industry belongs to

the latest of the two phases of the Gujarat Late Stone Age, but without the association of pottery", nothing could justifiably be said because of the absence of suitable geochronological criteria.

DILIP KUMAR CHAKRABARTI

III

GERMAN INDOLOGY—PAST AND PRESENT by G. D. Sontheimer and H. V. Stietenceron, published by Shakuntala Publishing House, Bombay, 1969; pages 32, with 2 Plates.

It is well known that Indology owes a great deal to German scholars. In this interesting small book, information on the contribution of Germans to Indological studies has been divided into two parts, the second of which deals with (1) A German Students' Average Curriculum of Indology and (2) List of Seminars and Institutions [in Germany].

The first part of the booklet discusses the subject under the following thirteen heads—(1) The Biginnings of Indology in Germany, (2) Vedic Studies, (3) The Brāhmaṇas and Ritualistic Literature, (4) The Upaniṣads and Indian Philosophy, (5) Grammar,, (6) The Śāstras, (7) Epics and Purāṇas, (8) Drama, Poetry and Edifying Tales, (9) Buddhism, (10) Jainism, (11) Epigraphy and Art, (12) History of Literature, and (13) Modern Indian Languages.

The authors appear to be conscious of the fact that 'some important names have been omitted and many important works have not been cited'. This is probably correct. The following information, e.g., could have been inserted in the section dealing with Philosophy or partly in additional sections on Astronomy, Mathematics or Science:—Georg Thibaut (1848-1914) translated into English the *Vedāntasūtras* in three volumes (1890-1904) and Vidyāraṇya's *Vivaraṇaprameyasaṅgraha* (*Indian Thought*, Vols. I-III, 1907-11). He also translated some works on Indian astronomy and mathematics such as Varāhamihira's *Pañcasiddhāntikā* (jointly with Sudhakar Dvivedi) and Śriharṣa's *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya* ('Sweets of Refutation', jointly with Ganganath Jha). His valuable studies in the *Śulbasūtras*, the *Jyotiṣa-vedāṅga* and the *Sūryaprajñapti* appeared in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*. Thibaut served as Registrar of Calcutta University (1907-13) and as its first Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture (1913-14).

There are some misprints, while a few statements of the learned authors do not appear to be up-to-date. Thus they do not seem to know that the English translation of Vol. III of Winternitz's *Die*

Geschichte der Indischen Literatur was already published in India in two parts (Part I in 1963 and Part II in 1967).

D. C. SIRCAR

IV

ŚILĀLIPISAṂGRAHA edited by Candrodaya Vidyāvinoda Bhaṭṭācārya, second edition, published by the Directorate of Education, Tripura, Agartala, 1968, pp. 55 with a few plates.

The *Śilālipisaṁgraha* is a welcome attempt to collect the stone inscriptions of Tripurā. It was first published in 1904, under the patronage of Mahārājā Rādhākiśora Māṇikya. A few new inscriptions were published later by Samarendracandra Devavarmaṇa in his *Tripurār Smṛti*. [*Devavarmaṇa* is a curious distortion of Sanskrit *Devavarman*; correct in Bengali—*Devavarmā*.—Ed.] In the edition of the book under review, the new inscriptions have been included in the appendix. Apart from these, a few epigraphs published by D. C. Sircar in different journals and an unpublished inscription recently found at Purī have also been added to the others in the appendix. Sircar's papers written in English have been translated into Bengali for the present volume. The work of translation and transliteration is, however, quite unsatisfactory. The book also suffers from the lack of a historical introduction and any useful discussion on the contents of the inscriptions.

The intention of Candrodaya Vidyāvinoda was to include in it only the stone inscriptions discovered in the Tripurā State; but the second edition contains a few epigraphs discovered in the Tippera District (now in East Pakistan) as well. [It seems that the publishers had no knowledge of the other stone inscriptions (besides a number of copper-plate grants like those of Śridhāraṇarāta, Bhavadeva, etc.) found in the said District; e.g. the Mandhuk image inscription of Gopāla II and Nārāyaṇpur image inscription of Mahīpāla I.—Ed.]

The inscriptions edited in this book mainly deal with the history of the Tripurā royal family and may be helpful in correcting, corroborating and supplementing the evidences of the *Rājamālā* and other dynastic chronicles. If the inscriptions were presented in the book in a chronological order, as far as possible, it would have been more helpful to a student of history.

Among the mistakes in the translation of D. C. Sircar's paper on Vijayamāṇikya's plate, mention may be made of the following. The name of the village *Cāripāḍā* is wrongly written as *Cāripādā*. In the date of this record, viz. Śaka 1410, fullmoon day of the month of Kārttika, Wednesday, the translator writes *Thursday* for *Wednesday*. But the translator exhibits his ignorance more spectacularly when he

speaks of the want of distinction between *ha* and *bha*, though Sircar writes *ba* and *va*, i.e. what are called in Bengali the *vargiya* and *antastha* forms of *ba*.

Dvitīyā-ṭhākurāṇī, the daughter of Balibhīma, built a temple now called Dutyār-bāḍi by the local people. The inscription on the temple wall could not be read by Candrodaya Vidyāvinoda. D. C. Sircar published its transcript which suggests that Dvitīyādevī was related to one Sujana and that the temple was built in Śaka 1621. A serious error in the translation of Sircar's article is that what Sircar writes about the word *āśvina* (literally, 'related to the Aśvins'), standing for the number 'two', has been misunderstood.

According to the Tripurāsundarī temple inscription, Govindamāṇikya ruled over Sāmba, a country that has been regarded as a mistake for Suhma which some geographers identify with Tippera But Suhma is the same as Rāḍha in the Ajay valley in South-West Bengal. [The inscription has been wrongly read.—Ed.]

The inscription of Rāmagaṅgāmāṇikya recently found at Purī was apparently set up by his brother Kāśīcandra Ṭhākura on the occasion of his visit to the Jagannātha temple at Purī. The date of the epigraph is quoted as the year 1226 of the Vaṅga era, corresponding to Śaka 1738 or 1816 A.D. [The use of the name of the Bengali *Sāl* in preference to that of the Tripurā era is interesting.—Ed.]

Much interesting information is often supplied by the inscriptions. Govindamāṇikya is said to have made a golden throne for Girijādevi, when he was a *Yuvarāja*, in the Śaka year 1571. The image also was made of gold. The *Rājamālā* is silent about this. At present, this throne is associated with the *Caturdaśa-devatā*, represented by 14 heads, Generally only three of the heads are placed on the throne for daily worship. During the time of *Khārchi Pūjā* in the month of Āṣāḍha, all the 14 heads are worshipped.

There is no bibliography and no index in this book.

SM. CHITRAREKHA GUPTA

V

STUDIES IN INDOLOGY, Vol. IV, by V. V. Mirashi, published by Tara Publications, Varanasi, 1966; pages x+229, 14 plates; price Rs. 20.00.

This is the fourth volume of *Studies in Indology* by Professor V. V. Mirashi, the well-known Indologist. It contains 28 articles and is divided into two sections—one dealing with Sanskrit literature and another with ancient Indian history.

Section I dealing with Sanskrit literature contains nine articles of which five deal with various problems relating to Kālidāsa, viz. his date (Article No. 1), traditions about Vikramāditya and Kālidāsa (No. 2), and the location of Rāmagiri (Nos. 3-4) and Devagiri (No. 5) described in his *Meghadūta*. In Article No. 6, the author has discussed some problems about Bhavabhūti, e.g., his birth-place, the location of Kālapriyanātha where his plays were staged, his identity with Umbeka, etc. Article No. 7 is on the interpretation of a passage in the *Mrcchakaṭika*. Article No.8 deals with the identification of the author of the *Nalacampū* and the *Madālasācampū*, while Article No. 9 seeks to fix the lower limit for the date of the *Devīmāhātmya*. His approach to all the problems is critical and worthy of consideration.

Section II contains eleven articles on various topics of ancient Indian history, three notes on the interpretation of some inscriptional passages and five notes on numismatics. In some of the articles dealing with ancient Indian history, the learned author has discussed some newly discovered epigraphic records. Thus, while pointing out the significance of the recently discovered Ahraura inscription of Aśoka (Article No. 10), which is but another copy of Minor Rock Edict I, Mirashi shows that the concluding lines of the epigraph, which differs from those of other versions, corroborate the wording and interpretation of the corresponding portion of the Sahasram edict, meaning that this proclamation was made by Aśoka when on tour for 256 nights, besides bearing the only reference to the erection of a *stūpa* over the relics of the Buddha by Aśoka himself. [The erection of a *stūpa* is not mentioned in the Ahraura inscription.—Ed.] Again, the Chāyāstambha inscription of *Mahākṣatrapa* Kumāra Rupiamma from Pawni (Article No. 12) brings to light the name of a hitherto unknown *Mahākṣatrapa*. [He was not a *Mahākṣatrapa*, but a *Mahākṣatrapa-kumāra*.—Ed.] In Article No. 14, the author rejects the identification of king Rudrasena of the Devnimori Casket inscription of Year 127 with the Western Kṣatrapa ruler Rudrasena I on the ground that the Kṣatrapa rulers almost invariably used the title *Kṣatrapa* or *Mahākṣatrapa* on their coins and in inscriptions, while this Rudrasena does not use any of them. He suggests that this Rudrasena might have belonged to the family of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena, since both names end in *sena*.

Then in some other articles the author has sought to throw new light on records already known. In Article No. 11 entitled 'A Note on the Shahji-ki Dheri Casket inscription', B. N. Mukherji's view that Peshwar was known as Kaṇiṣkapura is disputed, since the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* locates the latter in Kashmir. Though he, like Spooner and others, takes the word *Agiśāla* as the name of the supervisor of the *vihāra*, he believes that it was an Indian name ending in *śāla*, not the Prakrit form of a Greek name. In his note on the Gwalior

Museum inscription of Patangaśambhu (Article No. 18) recording the construction of a Śaiva temple and the excavation of a tank probably at Raṇod, the author points out that Araṇipadra, not Raṇipadra as held by Kielhorn, was the correct ancient name of Raṇod.

In two of the articles he discusses the question of certain dates. By comparing the manner of dating in the inscriptions of Nahapāna with ancient practices of dating inscriptions, Mirashi has shown (in Article No. 13) that the dates recorded in Nahapāna's inscriptions refer to an era, viz. the Śaka era, not to his regnal years. In Article No. 20, the question of the initial date of the Gaṅga era, as fixed by various scholars between 349-50 A.D. and 772-73 A.D., has been examined and the conclusion that it started about 497-98 A.D has been arrived at.

Article No. 15 on the Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī grant of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Avidheya seeks to bring to light a new Rāṣṭrakūṭa line. In Article No. 17 entitled 'A Riddle in the History of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas', Upendra and Meru mentioned in the Bagumra plates of Indra III, Śaka 836, have been identified respectively with Kṛṣṇa and Vijayāditya II Prabhumeru, the Bāṇa king of the North Arcot District. In his 'New Light on the Ancient History of Malwa' (No. 16), the author has discussed the identification of kings mentioned in Jinasena's *Harivaṁśapurāṇa*. In Article No. 19, he takes king Jaitugi of the Prince of Wales Museum stone inscription of Śaka 1188, as the ruler of Māhima (near Bombay) exercising authority over the Northern Konkan.

Article No. 21 covers three epigraphic notes. The first one shows that the fifth verse in Samudragupta's Eran inscription does not refer to his queen but to goddess Lakṣmī or the goddess of fortune. The second note on the Sangli plates of Govinda IV, Śaka 855, criticises Bhandarkar's interpretation of the verse relating to Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II. The third note gives a different interpretation of the verse regarding Indra in the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa I, Śaka 793, and shows that there is no mention of any place called Kheṭaka which is used there in the sense of a 'shield'.

The last article (No. 22) covers five numismatic notes. In the first one Mirashi corrects Kielhorn's reading *catvāriṁśat=kāñcana-dramma-śataṁ viṁśaty-uttaraṁ* occurring in the Kanheri cave inscription of Pullaśakti, Śaka 765, by the reading *catvāriṁśad=iha ekaṁ dramma-śataṁ viṁśaty-uttaraṁ*, and shows that there is actually no reference to 'gold *drammas*' and that Kielhorn's reading has created a wrong notion about the existence of gold *drammas*. But we may point out that gold coins of some early medieval dynasties like the Kalacuris, the Candellas and the Gāhaḍavālas, were struck on the standard of Attic *drachms* with a theoretical weight of 67.2 grains. Hence the learned author's contention that there were no gold *drammas* is difficult to uphold. The second, third and fourth notes relate to the

discovery of some Western Kṣatrapa coins in Vidarbha, of which the coin of Viśvasena, son of *Mahākṣatrapa* Bhartṛdāman, is of some importance, since it has for him the title *Mahākṣatrapa* in place of *Kṣatrapa* as seen on his hitherto known coins. In the concluding note entitled 'Problem raised by the Finds of Kṣatrapa Coins in Vidarbha' Mirashi excludes the possibility of the extension of the Kṣatrapa rule over that region as no evidence to that effect is forthcoming. He thinks that the non-interference on the part of the Vākāṭakas who had no currency of their own was responsible for the circulation of Kṣatrapa coins in the Vidarbha country, then under the Vākāṭakas.

The book dealing with different subjects will be of considerable usefulness to the students of Indology.

SM. BELA LAHIRI

VI

COINS OF THE PĀṆḌYAS (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 11) by C. H. Biddulph, published by the Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi, 1966; pages 71 with 6 plates; price Rs. 10.00.

The late Mr. C. H. Biddulph's monograph entitled *Coins of the Pāṇḍyas* is a welcome addition to the comparatively scanty literature on South Indian coins in general and the Pāṇḍyan coins in particular. Of course, the coins of the Pāṇḍyas were studied in details in Walter Elliot's *Coins of Southern India* (1886), pp. 119-29, and in T. Desikachari's *South Indian Coins* (1933), pp. 155-79. But Elliot's book is both out of print and somewhat out of date, and Desikachari's work is practically unobtainable. Since the publication of Biddulph's monograph has also come out the late Dr. Vidya Prakash's monograph entitled *Coinage of South India* where Pāṇḍya coins have also been dealt with (pp. 52-72). But Vidya Prakash's study of the Pandyan coins being brief, as expected, we shall find Biddulph's Monograph to be of greater usefulness.

In the 'Introduction' covering 35 pages the author has discussed all the relevant aspects of the history and coinage of the Pāṇḍyas. Besides providing historical notes (pp. 7-13), the author has specially dealt with the religion (pp. 4 f.), and cognisances (pp. 6 f.) of the Pāṇḍyas as well as the names and titles of kings as seen on their coins (pp. 13-18). He has also studied Pāṇḍyan 'Gold Coinage' (pp. 19-22) and 'Coinage in Silver' (pp. 22-32). 'Pāṇḍyan Coins issued in Ceylon' have necessarily been discussed (pp. 36 f.). Mr. Biddulph has provided us with the list of Pāṇḍyan coin-legends in Appendix A (pp. 36 f.). Appendix B gives a list of coins which Desikachari published, but which Mr. Biddulph could not illustrate in his monograph. The

'Key to Plates' (pp. 40-71) provides us with the detailed descriptions of, and necessary information about, all the 127 coins illustrated in six tolerably clear plates.

The author has taken all care to make the monograph useful both to students and to collectors of Pāṇḍya coins. Mr. Biddulph has studied in details the uninscribed coins attributable to the Pāṇḍyas. But since their symbols, specially those in the nature of cognisances, were also in some cases adopted by peoples other than the Pāṇḍyas, it is not always easy to be sure about their attribution.

The inscribed issues of the Pāṇḍyas present no less difficulty in the matter of definite attribution. They generally bear short legends comprising an epithet or rarely a name. But as a particular epithet as seen on Pāṇḍya coins may apply to more than one king, and as more than one Pāṇḍya king often bore the same name, it is again not easy to be sure of the proper attribution of the concerned coin. This is all the more difficult because of the fact that Pāṇḍya coins do not bear any other sure means of attribution or any definite clue.

There are again other difficulties in the matter of attribution. The coin published in *South Indian Coins*, p. 170 and Pl. II. 22, may provide a typical example. It has on the obverse the Pāṇḍya symbol of 'two fishes separated by a crescent-topped sceptre' and on the reverse 'an umbrella flanked by flags' and the legend, *Kodaṇḍarāman*. It might have been issued by the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭāvarman Sundarapāṇḍya III who is called in inscriptions 'a second Rāma in plundering Ceylon'; but, as Desikachari has pointed out (*Coins of South India*, p. 160), the coin could well have been struck by Śrī-Kodaṇḍarāman, son of the Cola king Parāntaka I, who claimed to have defeated the Pāṇḍya king Rājasiṁha, as a commemorative piece while governing the vanquished Pāṇḍya country. Biddulph has referred to the problem posed by this coin at p. 14 of his work, but has given us neither its description nor illustration.

The monograph under review is, on the whole, a useful one, and we are sorry that its author, who could have added to our knowledge of South Indian coins by his further studies, is no more.

[Besides typographical errors, the book offers coin-legends usually without diacritical marks.—Ed.]

A. N. LAHIRI

VII

KOC-RĀJBAṀŚĪ JĀTIR ITIHĀS ĀRU SAṀSKṚTI (in Assamese) by Ambikācaraṇ Sarkār, published by Ratnapīṭh Prakāśan, Baṅgāigāon, Assam, 1969; pages 170 with some plates and small maps; price Rs. 5.00.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF ... 1 APR 1974

The small book under review attempts to give a short account of the history and cuture of the people called Koc, to whom the name Rājbaṁśī is now also applied. It is a popular account exhibiting a sort of patriotic approach. The latter part of the book containing a section dealing with the Koc kings, short notes on a few families of ruling chiefs (pp. 95-101), an account of Abhayeśvarī (pp. 106 ff.), etc., is more useful and interesting than the earlier part which depends mostly on traditions of doubtful value. The concluding section also contains short notes on the language and literature (pp. 137 ff.) and architecture and sculpture (pp. 160-66) of the Koc-Rājbaṁśī people. As specimens of literature, a few folk songs have been quoted.

In certain matters, the author has not followed other Assamese writers. It is well known that most Assamese historians regard the land of the Puṇḍra or Pauṇḍra people as having included North Bengal and wide areas of Bihar, which, in their opinion, formed parts of the dominions of the kings of Kāmarūpa at least from the days of Mahābhūtavarman (c. 518-42 A.D.) to those of Bhāskaravarman (c. 600-50 A.D.). However, epigraphic evidence proves beyond doubt that the said territory had its headquarters at Mahāsthān in the Bogra District from the age of the Mauryas, covered only the major part of North Bengal and belonged to the Gupta empire down to 543 A.D. (date of the latest Damodarpur plate) and was not part of the kingdom of Bhāskaravarman according to contemporary Chinese evidence. We are therefore glad to note that our author quotes the following stanza from Smārta Raghunandana to prove that the Puṇḍra country covered only the Districts of Northern Bengal:—

Karatoye sadānīre sarit-śreṣṭhe suviśrute |
Pauṇḍrān plāvayase nityaṁ pāpaṁ hara kar-odbhave || (pp. 6-7).

The author thinks that the Puṇḍra or Pauṇḍra people of ancient Bengal were Kṣatriyas and that they are the ancestors of the present day Koc-Rājbaṁśīs. Indeed, the Puṇḍras or Pauṇḍras were Kṣatriyas just like the Yavanas (Greeks), Śakas (Scythians), Pahlavas (Parthians), Cīnas (Mongoloid peoples), Drāviḍas (Dravidians) and others, while the claim of the Koc-Rājbaṁśīs to be their modern representatives reminds us of the same claim preferred by the Pod fishermen of Southern Bengal and may be compared with the claim of the Hadis of Mymensingh to be the same as the ancient Haihaya Kṣatriyas. The author of the book is of course silent about the notices on the Koc-Rājbaṁśīs in the early Census Reports, especially Risley's observations in 1901, for which one may now refer to his work entitled *The People of India*, 1915 ed., pp. 74-76, 99, 120. An interesting point was the general adoption of the Kāśyapa-gotra by the Koc-Rājbaṁśīs without realising that it would involve marriage within the same *gotra* against the rules followed by the orthodox Brāhma-

nical society. Another point of considerable interest is the wide acceptance of the family name *Barmaṇa* which is a silly and nonsensical adaptation of the Sanskrit name-ending of the Kṣatriyas, viz. *Varman* that should of course have been *Barmā* in Bengali (after the 1st Pers. Sing. form of Sanskrit *Varman*).

We have noticed many misprints, especially in the quotations of Sanskrit passages, though there may be some errors even in the original Tantras from which they are said to have been quoted.

D. C. SIRCAR

VIII

ECONOMIC LIFE IN NORTHERN INDIA IN THE GUPTA PERIOD (CIR. A.D. 300-550) by S. K. Maity, 2nd ed., published by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1970; pp. 314 with a few maps; price Rs. 25.00.

We are glad to note that Dr. Maity's work, the first edition of which was published in 1957, has now appeared in a second revised edition with some additional matter.

The book is divided, as in the earlier edition, into nine chapters, the titles of which are suggestive of their scope—1. Introduction, II. Land System, III. Revenue System, IV. Agriculture, Famine, Irrigation, Forestry, Gardening and Animal Husbandry, V. Industry and Industrial Workers, VI. Trade and Commerce, VII. Labour, VIII. Corporate Economic Life, and IX. Currency, Exchange and Money-lending. There are also appendices on the following topics—(i) Economic Life from Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* and *Bṛhajjātaka*, (ii) Land-sale Records of the Gupta Period, (iii) Gold Content of Gupta Coins, and (iv) Medieval Feudalism and Manorialism *versus* Ancient Indian Landed Economy. The last of the above four appendices, which has been added in the present edition, originally appeared in the proceedings of the first series of inter-university seminars that was held at the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, in December, 1965, and were published under the title *Land System and Feudalism in Ancient India*, edited by D. C. Sircar, Calcutta University, 1966.

We had occasion to review the first edition of Dr. Maity's work and observed as follows on its merit: "The author has gathered useful information on the subject from various sources and presented them in a readable form. The subject of the study is interesting, and the author's treatment is fairly exhaustive and satisfactory; on some highly controversial problems, his treatment is generally learned and unbiased." Since the old core is there, the good features of the

earlier edition are present in the second. Of late, there have been a number of new books on the economic life of ancient India concerning various areas and periods; but they do not detract from the value of Dr. Maity's work. Of course we do not mean to say that we agree with all the views expressed by Dr. Maity. Indeed, such unanimity of opinion is scarcely expected in works on ancient Indian subjects mainly because the sources offer only vague information which can often be misunderstood or variously interpreted.

A defect of the work under review is the presence of errors of language and printing, and we shall be happy if the author is more careful in correcting the proofs and succeeds in removing them in the next edition.

D. C. SIRCAR

IX

STUDIES IN NIBANDHAS by Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, published by Indian Studies: Past & Present, Calcutta, 1968; royal 8vo pages iv+114; price Rs. 15.00.

The present work is a collection of the author's papers published during the last three decades. Some portions of the section on Govindānanda are, however, published for the first time. The book covers Eastern and Northern India (including Bengal), Mithilā (North Bihar) and Uttar Pradesh and gives an account of some of the *nibandhas* composed in these areas between the 12th and 16th centuries of the Christian era. But the treatment of Raghunandana's works is confined to his neglected small work, the *Maṭhapratiṣṭhādi-tattva*, because a separate monograph entitled *Raghunandana's Indebtedness to his Predecessors* was published by Dr. Bhattacharya some time ago.

The book under review contains six chapters, besides Appendices, Bibliography and Abbreviations. In the First Chapter, the *Kṛtyakalpa-taru* of Lakṣmīdhara-bhaṭṭa has been discussed with reference to its place in the Dharmaśāstra literature and its non-utilisation by Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa and his royal patron, Ballālasena. Special attention has been given to the *Dāna-kāṇḍa* of the same text and, in this connection, Dr. Bhattacharya has made a comparative study of the *dāna* chapter in Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, and the second part of Rangaswami Aiyangar's introduction to the *Dāna-kalpataru* with a view to bringing out the sum-total of the contributions of the two scholars to the *dāna* literature in general. While dealing with the *Tīrtha-kāṇḍa*, Dr. Bhattacharya has attempted a study of Vācaspati-miśra's indebtedness to Lakṣmīdhara-bhaṭṭa, so

far as his *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* is concerned. In Chapter II, the *Ratnākaras* of Caṇḍeśvara have been discussed and some additional information has been gathered from the *Gṛhasthāratnākara* published in 1928 and the incomplete Ms. of the *Śuddhiratnākara* now preserved in the Government Collection of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, which Kane did not utilise. Chapter III deals with the works of Vidyāpati Upādhyāya. Dr. Bhattacharya rightly holds the *Gaṅgāvākyāvali* to be Vidyāpati's work though a contrary view has been expressed by J. B. Chaudhuri. Chapter IV covers the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* of Vācaspati-miśra, which Haraprasad Sastri ignored while writing his preface to the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss.*, Vol. II: *Smṛti*. Chapter V, spread over forty pages, is devoted to Govindānanda *Kavikaṅkaṇācārya*. It discusses his date, place of residence, and pedigree, and his hitherto-unknown fifth digest, the *Kriyākaumudī*. His *Varṣakriyākaumudī* has been discussed in a separate subsection, while his conception of *dāna*, *aśauca* and *śrāddha* and his refutation of Śrīdatta's views have been likewise dealt with. It also includes an interesting study on food and drink in medieval Bengal as gathered from the works of Ballālasena and Govindānanda. In Chapter VI, Dr. Bhattacharya summarises the contents of the *Maṭhapratiṣṭhātattva*.

The last Chapter critically reviews some observations made by S. C. Banerji in his paper entitled 'Smṛti-nibandha Literature and Bengal's Contribution'. Thus, Dr. Bhattacharya thinks that Raghunandana and Govindānanda were not exactly contemporaries as supposed by Banerji, but that they were separated by almost a generation; that Aniruddha's date is the beginning of the 14th century and not between the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th; that, besides the four works ascribed to Ballālasena by Banerji, there was a fifth, viz. *Vratasāgara;* that it was the *Adbhutasāgara* and not the *Dānasāgara* which was left unfinished by Ballālasena; that Banerji omitted in his list of Śūlapāṇi's works, the *Śrāddhaviveka, Prāyaścittatattva* and *Dīpakalikā;* and that the *Varṣakṛtya* in Raghunandana's *Malamāsatattva* does not mean 'rites to be performed in the year', but stands for the work of the same name by Vidyāpati.

The monograph bears the mark of sound scholarship and balanced judgement and Dr. Bhattacharya has done a commendable service to Indological research by collecting these very useful papers in one place. The present reviewer does not consider himself competent enough to judge the value of some of the suggestions of the learned author. He only wishes that a summary account of Raghunandana's works should have been given for the benefit of the readers. He also notices the absence of reference to Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati, Paśupati the elder brother of Halāyudha, Śrīdatta

Upādhyāya, Rudradhara and Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭācārya. The absence of an index is again keenly felt.

D. R. Das

X

STUDIES IN EARLY BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE OF INDIA by H. Sarkar, published by Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1966; royal 8vo pages viii+120 with 12 plates, 25 illustrations and 2 maps; price Rs. 30.00.

The present work deals with some aspects of the problem regarding the development of Buddhist architecture in India from the sixth century B.C. to about the fourth century A.D. According to the author, it has two main theses to advocate, viz., to show how the Buddhists adopted different types of building plans like elliptical, apsidal, circular and quadrilateral in different periods of their history and how Buddhist architecture, specially after the emergence of different sects and sub-sects, were influenced and conditioned by the doctrine and disposition of a particular school. Clarifying the latter point, it is said that "a sect which did not believe in the worship of Buddha could by no means have a *caitya-gṛha* for enshrining Buddha image" (p. 1). The statement is confusing for the purpose of the *caitya-gṛha* was not to house an image of the Buddha, but a votive *caitya*. As a matter of fact, with the increasing popularity of the worship of the Buddha in human form this kind of shrines gradually disappeared from Indian architecture.

In order to establish his theses, the author plans his book in six chapters entitled, 'The Beginning', 'Elliptical Structures', 'The Stūpa Shrines', 'Taxila', 'Nagarjunakonda', and 'Sects and Archaeological Evidence'. There is also a Select Bibliography and an Index at the end. The First Chapter deals with the literary references to the *stūpas* raised on the Buddha's relics. An attempt has been made here to show the way in which the two types, viz., the railed *vṛkṣa-caitya* and memorial *stūpa* were amalgamated by the Buddhists to evolve the typical *stūpa* architecture. The *bodhi-gṛha* or structure around the Bodhi tree and monastery have also been brought under discussion. Chapter II covering elliptical structures gives an account of rock-cut caves and linear structures with semi-circular extremities in different parts of India. Reference has also been made to the elliptical structures at Kauśāmbī and Śrāvastī. The author draws an analogy between the elliptical plan of the Gopikā cave and the Lohta dormitories of the North-East Frontier and concludes that 'secular concept of elliptical halls predated that of the

shrine or *stūpa* having an identical plan'. The Third Chapter takes into account circular, apsidal and quadrilateral *stūpa*-shrines. Some space has been devoted to assess Aśoka's contribution to this architectural form. Chapter IV deals with Taxila under the following subtitles: 'Location of the Settlements', 'Lay Worshippers and the Buddhist *Saṁgha*', 'Appearance of the Buddha Image', 'the *Gṛha-stūpas*', 'the Principal *Stūpas*' and 'General Observations'. A somewhat detailed study of Nagarjunakonda has been made in the Fifth Chapter. Here sects mentioned in the epigraphs and their establishments receive due attention. The Buddhist establishments have been classified according to units (1) consisting of *stūpa* and monastery, (2) of *stūpa*, monastery and *caitya-gṛha* with *stūpa*, and (3) of monastery and *caitya-gṛha* and isolated *stūpas*. The votive *stūpas*, *stūpas* and monasteries are elaborately treated. In concluding the Chapter, the author summarises his findings on the monastic development at Nagarjunakonda. In the final Chapter, attempts have been made to trace as to how the ideological differences in the *vinaya* rules led to the formation of various sects.

Dealing with a very significant section of ancient Indian architecture, the book constitutes an important addition to the growing literature on Indology. The author has been able to throw fresh light on many obscure problems. The suggestions that he has made in course of his studies are thought-provoking and deserve serious consideration. But often they do not appear to be quite convincing. Thus, it has not yet been established that the rock-cut apsidal temples penetrated through the western coast into the Buddhist realm of architecture (p. 49). On the other hand, there is reason to believe that the apsidal back of the caitya-hall was dictated by the hemispherical shape of the votive *stūpa*. Coomaraswamy has shown the different stages in the evolution of the *caitya-gṛha* from a circular one to a rectangular hall with an apsidal end (*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 18f.).. The author should have taken into account the manifestly wooden character of early Buddhist architecture which indicates their origin in the local timber constructions. It is also doubtful if the railed *vṛkṣa-caitya* and the memorial *stūpa* were amalgamated to form the typical *stūpa* architecture. The origin of the fenced *stūpa* has something to do with the cairn-circles known from the proto-historic periods. Piggott has dwelt on this problem in an article in the *Antiquity*, Vol. XVII, pp.1 ff. The suggested link between the ancient Indian elliptical structures and the Naga dormitories is again not beyond doubt. Moreover, the elliptical structures unearthed so far do not form part of a typical style and, as such, their construction cannot probably be attributed to any architectural convention. The author's suggestion that the wheel-shaped plan of the *stūpas* at Nagarjunakonda might have some symbolic value (pp.

85, 87) stands on weak foundation. In such a case, it is indeed curious that this type of *stūpa* was confined only to Nagarjunakonda. The plan of the *stūpa* at Ghanṭaśāla and the multiple retaining walls of some *stūpas* at Nagarjunakonda clearly demonstrate that *stūpas* built on this principle had nothing to do with metaphysics.

The book bears a distinct stamp of comprehensive study and scholarship, so that even suggestions of the above kind do not detract very much from its merit. The main defect, to which we are inclined to draw the learned author's attention, however, is the way in which the whole thing has been presented. The chapters are not co-ordinated with one another and, as a result, the progress in early Buddhist architectural movement can hardly be followed. The illustrations add much to the value of the book. The printing and getup also are of good standard.

D. R. Das

XI

COL AUR UNKĪ KALĀ (in Hindī) by Sm. Manoramā Jauhari, published by the Bhāratīya Vidyā Prakāśan, Vārāṇasī, 1969; royal 8vo pp. 43 with some plates; price Rs. 6.00.

Briefly speaking, the work represents the cream of Cola art. It has been divided into three Chapters, viz. (i) Background [of the Cola Art], (ii) Political History [of the Colas], and (iii) Cola Art. In addition to the text (pp. 5-35), there are Contents, List of Plates and Diagrams, Foreword, Preface, Bibliography, and Index (pp. 38-43).

There was no work on Cola Art in Hindī so far, and from that point of view, the author may be said to have succeeded in removing a long-felt desideratum. For any one who wants to know something of Cola Art, after seeing the magnificent Cola temples of South India, this small book will be of much use.

The work under review is not a guide-book. Neither the title suggests it nor is there any indication in the work itself, which might lead one to that conclusion. Its main object is to describe the salient features of Cola Art in the best possible manner; and it must be admitted that, in that respect, the author has missed nothing which is vital for understanding the fundamentals of that art. Its essence has been set forth with meticulous care and explained by numerous hand-drawings and Plates. The whole thing has been dealt with in a systematic manner, leaving out virtually nothing, within the narrow compass of the work, that is to be desired. The illustrations which are many in number, go a great way in expounding or elucidating

the intricacies of the Cola Art. The chapter dealing with the political history of the Colas is undoubtedly useful to the readers, since to form an idea of the development of their Art, it is indispensable. The period of the fruition of that art in India and Ceylon extends, roughly speaking, from the beginning of the tenth to the end of the eleventh century A.D. The chapter on *Kalā* (Art) and its two sections, viz. *Citrakalā* and *Mūrtikalā*, are too concise. Since the primary object of the work is to describe the special features of Cola Art, that chapter should have been written with greater details. That would have helped the readers in forming a clear idea of the specialities of the majestic religious edifices and the superb iconic antiquities of the Colas in stone and bronze. One fact, however, must be admitted that the work affords a pleasant reading from the beginning to the end, because of the chasteness of its language and the elegance of the author's style of writing.

C. D. CHATTERJEE

XII

PRĀCĪN BHĀRAT MEṂ VARṆĀŚRAM-VYAVASTHĀ (in Hindī) by Sm. Manoramā Jauhari, published by the Bhāratīya Vidyā Prakāśan, Vārāṇasī, 1969, pp. 221; price Rs. 5.00.

There are only two Chapters in this work. Chapter I deals with the *Varṇa-vyavasthā* and Chapter II, with the *Āśrama-vyavasthā* of the Aryans. Each Chapter is divided into a number of Sections, each dealing with a particular aspect of the subject treated in the Chapter. Thus, there are six Sections in Chapter I and seven, in Chapter II. Section three of Chapter I has, again, four Sub-Sections. Each Sub-Section of Chapter I, Section III, represents a specialized study of the subject, relevant to the Section, and may, therefore, be considered to be an essential part of the Section. The three Appendices in which Dharma, or Law (in Theory and Practice), relating to the *Varṇāśrama-vyavasthā* of the Aryans, has been discussed separately, in the opinion of the reviewer, complete the study of this interesting subject. In addition to the text (pp. 1-202), the work contains *Āśirvacana*, or 'Benedictory Utterances' (a novel feature indeed!) by Pandit Gopinath Kaviraj, the doyen of the Sanskritists in Northern India, Foreword, Preface, List of Abbreviations, Contents, Bibliography, Index (pp. 210-221), and *Corrigenda*. The book is thus, complete in every respect and the reader misses nothing in it, to form a clear idea of the subject.

The work, though small in size, presents a graphic picture of the *Varṇāśrama-vyavasthā* of the Aryans, delineated by an artist of

no mean calibre, who is competent enough to carry out the self-imposed task with confidence. Of individual opinion of the writer, there is none, since her observations are strictly based on the available literary evidence, sifted from the authoritative Sanskrit and Pali texts. There are, however, certain important facts which the reviewer cannot possibly ignore. For instance, Sub-Section Four of Section Three in Chapter I, which deals with the subject of *Varṇasaṅkara*, a major problem of the Aryans, should have been further developed with the help of Bālambhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Mitākṣarā*, in which the different forms of *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages have been specified and the social position of the offsprings of such marriages has been fully discussed. Again, in Chapter II, the author has thrown much light on the status of women in the Aryan society; but she lost sight of such an important relevant topic as 'Women and the Śrauta-rituals' or, in other words, 'Position of Women in the *Śrauta-sūtras*'. If the authors' intention had been to describe the *Varṇa* and the *Āśrama* organization in a succinct manner, at least such highly important topics should not have been left out of consideration. But, despite a few shortcomings of the aforesaid nature, the work may be considered to be important, interesting, and instructive. We may go even a step further and recommend the re-publication of this learned work, in Hindi, in different Indian languages, after making necessary elaboration, substantiation, and correction.

C. D. CHATTERJEE

XIII

GUJARAT : ITS ART HERITAGE (Thakkar Vassonji Madhavji Lectures, 1952) by M. R. Majmudar, University of Bombay, 1968, royal 8vo pp. xxiii+iii+168 with 70 Plates and 1 map; price Rs. 40.00.

Situated, as it is, in a strategic position, Gujarat was the scene of fusion between local and foreign cultures in different periods of her history. To understand the successive phases in the development of Indian culture one, therefore, cannot avoid following up the history of Gujarat which again has not yet been adequately covered. From this point of view, we welcome the present work which seeks to reconstruct an interesting facet of Gujarat's history.

The book starts with an Introduction that gives a short account of Gujarat through the ages. The author speaks of a Greek incursion under Demetrius in Gujarat after the fall of the Mauryas. Chapter I entitled 'Cultural Traditions in Gujarat' shows how the elements of various cultures infiltrated into this region and helped developing

a distinct Gujarat culture within the general framework of Indian society. The author recognises four distinct culture zones in Gujarat, viz. (1) Kaccha, (2) Saurāṣṭra, (3) Coastal Gujarat and (4) the highlands and borderland in the east and south. The significance of the commercial importance of Gujarat has been properly emphasised to understand the growth of the local cultures. But the identification of Sophir with Ophir of the Old Testament (p. 2) is no longer taken seriously by Biblical scholars. It is also not established beyond doubt that Siṁhapura corresponds to modern Sihor and that Prince Vijaya sailed from the latter place near modern Bhavnagar to settle in Ceylon in c. 500 B.C. (p. 3). In fact, the composite legend of Vijaya is nothing more than conjectures of people of a later age and much reliance should not be placed on it.

Chapter II is entitled 'Architecture: Religious and Secular'. Here the architectural antiquities of Gujarat have been grouped in four successive periods, viz. (i) upto 500 A.D., (ii) from 500 to 1000 A.D., (iii) from 1000 to 1300 A.D. and (iv) from 1300 to 1600 A.D. In the first section, *stūpas, vihāras,* the establishment at Devnimori and caves have been studied. The second period covers the temples at Gop and some other places. The author, apparently following savants like Cousens, Sankalia and others, thinks that the Gop type was of foreign origin. But such a conclusion seems unwarranted in view of its predominantly indigenous character. As to the date of the temple, the radio-carbon test of the pieces of timber found in the grooves of the monument suggests the 6th century A.D. It was during the third period that Gujarat developed a separate consciousness as a unit different from Marwar and Malwa. As an expression of this individual characteristic exquisite *kīrtistambhas* or *toraṇas,* step-wells, city-gates, and temples on the ground and on mountain peaks were built. The fourth period coincided with the establishment of Islamic power in Gujarat. Its impact was immediately felt on architecture which resolved in three divisions, viz. (a) Delhi or Imperial, (b) Provincial, and (c) Mughul. The author rightly says, "of all the provincial styles which emerged under Islamic rule, that which flourished in Gujarat is the most indigenously Indian" (p. 39). Unfortunately, no attempt has been made to show how it is Indian excepting a few lines written with regard to the mosques of Ahmedabad (p. 38). The treatment of this chapter is on the whole much below expectation. The author's dependence does not appear to be on actual field survey. As a result, the constructional aspect of the buildings has been ignored altogether. Among other things, one would expect to know why wood was used at different stages in the construction of the temple-tower or elliptical stones were employed on the face of the *śikhara.*

In Chapter III entitled 'Sculpture in Stone, Wood and Metal', the history of stone sculpture from the 2nd-1st century B.C. to the

16th century A.D. has been traced. Besides, wood-carvings, laquer wares, metal-casting and bronzes have been studied with some detail. But the indifference shown to the sculptures from Devnimori is surprising.

Chapter IV covers under the title 'Miniature Painting and Music: Folk-Dances and Folk-Drama' subjects like miniature painting. art and religion, literature on Gujarat miniature, folk music, Garabo: autumnal folk-dance, Rāsa: folk-dance of cow-herds, literature, art: hand-maid of religion, classical music, folk-drama: Bhavai, and the classical Sanskrit drama of Gujarat. There is also an appendix on the Gujarati Comedy of Art.

Chapter V is written on 'Cotton and Silk Textiles and other Crafts'. It starts with an account of the history of cotton textiles. This is followed by an interesting study of silk-weaving and *Paṭolā* embroidery, figure-weaving, cloth-dyeing and cloth-printing: Bāndhaṇī, art of seafaring, spirit of colonization, Gujarat navy, ship-building craft, gold and silver thread, inlaying work, paper manufacture, art of gardening, glass manufacture, bead and pearls embroidery, folk art and folk designs.

In the last two chapters, the author has been able to collect a mass of valuable information for which every student of cultural history will remain indebted to him. Wood-carving, miniature painting and textile industry give Gujarat a place of distinction, and the author's scholarly survey enables the reader to get a clear picture of Gujarat's rich heritage in these spheres of art activity. The value of the book is further increased by the plates of Gujarat's art treasure whose reproductions, however, are not upto the standard.

D. R. DAS

XIV

BASAVĒŞVARA AND HIS TIMES by P. B. Desai, published by the Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1968; pp. xix+406; price Rs. 20.00.

A few years ago, while I was translating some of the *vacanas* of Basava in the pages of a renowned Bengali weekly, I felt that a comprehensive biography of that great personality should be written by a competent person. Now, to my great satisfaction, I find that the task is carried out by Prof. P. B. Desai who needs no introduction in the world of scholarship. The book is published on the occasion of the eighth centenary celebration of Basava by the Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, Dharwar.

Basavēśvara, as is known to all, played a significant role in the religious and cultural history of Karṇāṭaka for about four decades in the twelfth century, probably between 1132 and 1167 A.D. He revolted against the traditional religion, the caste system and the supremacy of the Brāhmaṇas. He rebelled against his own initiation ceremony. and then leaving his house and kinsmen, went to Kūḍala-saṅgama where he spent a few years in study and meditation. Then he went to Maṅgalavāḍa and accepted service under Bijjala, the provincial governor and feudatory ruler of the Kalacuri family. By his ability, he became the chief treasurer, and then launched his socio-religious movement which gathered strength and momentum in a short time. After a stay of about twenty years at Maṅgalavāḍa, Basavēśvara went to Kalyāṇa, the imperial capital of the Cālukyas, which became a strong centre of the propagation of his faith. Meanwhile, his master Bijjala usurped the throne of his Cālukya overlord by violent means. The reformist movement antagonised Bijjala who took drastic steps to crush the movement of Basava, and some of his followers were killed. Enraged at this, his followers probably took violent revenge on Bijjala. Unable to restrain them, Basava left Kalyāṇa for Kūḍala-saṅgama where he ended his life.

The task of writing a trustworthy biography of Basava is extremely difficult. Worst prejudices loomed large around his personality, while his religion and philosophy were misunderstood. Basavēśvara does not figure in contemporary inscriptions and the extant literary works do not furnish adequate historical facts about him. The Vīraśaiva literature is saturated with legendary matter and poetic exaggeration, its main purpose being devotional deification. On the other hand, the Jain Purāṇas, which contain copious references to Basava and his creed, give a perverted account in order to discredit Basava. Confronted with such problems, the writer has to depend on later inscriptions, the sayings of the teacher himself and his contemporaries, and the writings of earlier authors who were nearer to the age of the teacher. He has accepted the rational and matter-of-fact statements in the Purāṇic works and literary traditions as historical probabilities and rejected the works produced in hostile camps.

The book is divided into two parts, the first being an auxiliary treatment dealing with Bijjala. Historical knowledge about Bijjala is essential for a biographical study of Basava because the latter served under him for two decades. The second part constitutes the central theme of the study on Basavēśvara. The first five chapters deal with the sources and their evaluation. In the next eight chapters are given a biographical sketch of the teacher, describing his life and personality and also a discussion on his movment. Various aspects and different view-points relating to Basava and his

religion are also discussed critically. The chronological position is discussed in the following two chapters and tentative dates are suggested for the important events in his life. The last three chapters expose the fallacies in his description, sum up his contributions and bring out his true character. The book also contains three appendices.

When the learned author will have occasion to revise the work for another edition, he may think of adding an elaborate discussion on the origin, development and different aspects of the Vīraśaiva faith. That would certainly make the book more useful, Sri Kumaraswamiji's work being too technical for the uninitiated.

N. N. Bhattacharya

XV

BUDDHIST SECTS IN INDIA by Nalinaksha Dutt, published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1970; pages 318; price Rs. 20.00.

The book under review is divided into nine Chapters as follows: (1) Political Background from Ajātasattu to Mahāpadma Nanda, (ii) Sources and Account of the Second Buddhist Council, (iii) Disruptive Forces in the Saṅgha, (iv) Sources and Classification of Sects, (v) The Mahāsaṅghikas, (vi) Doctrines of Group II Schools, (vii) Doctrines of Group III Schools, (viii) Doctrines of Group IV Schools, and (ix) Doctrines of Group V Schools. There is an Epilogue (pp. 234-80) besides Appendices and Indices. In Chapters II, III and IV, Dr. Dutt deals with the sources and the classification of sects The eighteen major sects are divided into five groups as follows: (i-ii) The Mahāsaṅghikas comprised (1) Pūrvaśaila, (2) Aparaśaila, (3) Haimavata, (4) Lokottaravāda and (5) Prajñaptivāda. (iii) The Sarvāstivādins included (1) Mūlasarvāstivāda, (2) Kāśyapīya, (3) Mahīśāsaka, (4) Dharmagupta, (5) Bahurśrutīya, (6) Tāmrasāṭīya and (7) a section of Vibhajyavāda. (iv) The Sāmmitīyas comprised (1) Kaurukullaka, (2) Āvantaka and (3) Vāstīputrīya. (v) The Sthaviras included (1) Jetavanīya, (2) Abhayagirivāsin and (3) Mahāvihāravāsin.

In the following Chapters (V-IX), the learned author discusses the geographical distribution of the sects as well as their origin, literature and doctrines. This part bears the stamp of the author's erudition.

The subject of the book under review drew the attention of scholars since 1859 when St. Julien published an article in the *Journal Asiatique*. This was followed by M. V. Vassilief in 1860, Rhys

Davids and Oldenberg in 1881, H. Kern and J. P. Minayeff in 1884 and Paul Demiéville in 1946. The important Pali Abhidhamma text *Kathāvatthu*, however, was not fully utilised by the scholars. Dr. Dutt has not only made an analytical study of the treatises of Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinītadeva, but also of the *Kathāvatthu* and its commentarry by Buddhaghoṣa, the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* and the *Sammitīyanikāyaśāstra*.

In the Epilogue, the author has shown how Mahāyānism developed as a natural sequence out of the views of the Mahāsaṅghikas and how it superseded Hinayānism in popularity. The Appendix deals with the geographical distribution of the Buddhist sects as revealed by the accounts of Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing,

Among the drawbacks of the book, mention may be made of the fact that it suffers from careless proof-correction and the want of a bibliography. [There are some errors; e.g., at p. 306 and elsewhere (see pp. 279, 303), the Samataṭa and Surāṣṭra countries have been identified respectively with Jessore and Surat. Samataṭa is not Jessore, but the Tippera-Noakhali region. It had its capital at Devaparvata on the southern end of the Mainamati hill near Comilla. Likewise, Surāṣṭra is not Surat, but Southern Kathiawar. It had its capital at Girinagara which stood near modern Junagarh.—Ed.] Nevertheless, it is a welcome addition to the literature on the Buddhist Sects in India and will be useful to the students of Buddhism. We hope that someone will take up the Buddhist sects outside India as a subject of study.

Sm. Kshanika Saha

XVI

CAITANYA : HIS LIFE AND DOCTRINE by A. K. Majumdar, publihed by Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, 1969; pp. 392; price Rs. 25.00.

The present work is the life-history of Śrī-Caitanya, the famous Vaiṣṇava saint and social reformer of medieval Bengal, whose doctrine of divine love has a great influence on the people even today. Caitanya's life and personality provide a perennial theme to Bengali authors, and many modern biographies are available. Reference should be made in this connexion to the *Amiya-Nimāicarit* (in Bengali) and *Lord Gaurāṅga* by Sisir Kumar Ghosh, *The Vaiṣṇava Literature of Medieval Bengal*, *Caitanya and His Companions* and *Caitanya and His Age* by Dinesh Chandra Sen, *Early Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal* by S. K. De, etc. Jadunath Sarkar's *Caitanya's Life and Teachings* is a translation of the Madhyalīlā and Antya-

līlā of Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanyacaritāmṛta*. A shorter account of Caitanya's life is given by R. Kennedy in his work entitled *The Caitanya Movement*. Of the more recent Bengali biographies of Caitanya, Girijasankar Raychaudhuri's *Bāṅglā Carit-granthe Śrī-Caitanya* and A. C. Sen's *Itihāser Śrī-Caitanya* deserve special mention.

Dr. Majumdar believes that the life of a religious leader can only become meaningful, if it is presented along with his doctrine and other connected subjects. But there are some difficulties obviously involved in this task. So far as the life of Caitanya is concerned, there is abundance of source-material; but the conflicting statements are embarrassing. Still we have some works on which the historians can depend. These are the works of Kavikarṇapūra, the *Kaḍcās* of Murārigupta and Govindadāsa, the *Caitanyabhāgavata* of Vṛndāvanadāsa, the *Caitanyamaṅgala* of Jayānanda, the *Śrīcaitanyamaṅgala* of Locanadāsa and the *Śrīcaitanyacaritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. All these books and many others, including Oriya and Assamese works, have been analysed and discussed by Dr. B. B. Majumdar in his *Śrī-Caitanya-cariter Upādān*. [Govindadāsa's *kaḍcā* may be a late fabrication.—Ed.]

The biography of Caitanya as presented in the book under review is mainly based upon two works which the Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇavas regard as authoritative, *viz.*, the *Caitanyabhāgavata* of Vṛndāvanadāsa and the *Caitanyacaritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. The first three chapters discuss the various trends and movements such as Pāñcarātra, Ekānta, Sātvata and Bhāgavata which ultimately merged into Vaiṣṇavism. These are not directly concerned with Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇavism or its founder, but are necessary for describing the historical background of the Caitanya movement. The Fourth Chapter entitled 'Pre-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism', in which the doctrines of the schools of Rāmānuja, Nimbārka, Madhva and Vallabha are summarised, is especially important and it really goes to the credit of the author to point out their differences with Śaṅkara. The monastic and dualistic interpretations of the *Brahmasūtra* are essential to the understanding of the philosophy of the Acintyabhedābheda which is discussed in details in the Twentythird Chapter. The Fifth Chapter deals with the Pre-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal, in which Dr. Majumdar has culled evidences from inscriptions and collated them with literary records like the *Rāmacarita, Saduktikarṇāmṛta, Gitagovinda,* etc. In the Sixth Chapter, he has given a short account of the later history of Bengal and Orissa which is necessary to understand the political condition at the time of Caitanya's birth. The Seventh Chapter deals with the materials for Caitanya's life.

Chapters IX to XX deal with the life of the great saint. The Ādi-līlā (from birth to renunciation) is described in seven chapters, dealing respectively with the following topics—birth and childhood,

the student, Nimāi-paṇḍita, Viśvambhara in love, Saṃkīrtana, Pāṣaṇḍa-dalana, and Nimāi-sannyāsa. The Madhya-līlā forms the subject matter of four chapters dealing with his journey to Purī, travels in South India, settlement at Purī and journey to Bengal and Vṛndāvana respectively. The Antya-līlā is described in two chapters, the first dealing with the last phase of the great teacher's life and the second with his last days. Chapter XXI is a collection of the biographical notes of his followers like Nityānanda, Advait-ācārya, Dāmodara-paṇḍita, Dāmodara Svarūpa, Gadādhara-paṇḍita, Haridāsa, Jagadā nanda, Mādhavendra-purī, Murārigupta, Rāmānandarāya, Rūpa Gosvāmin, Sanātana. Gosvāmin, Jīva Gosvāmin, and Śrīvāsa. Chapter XXII deals with Śrī-Caitanya's Sampradāya, a subject which involves some controversy. The concept of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, the subject matter of Chapter XXIV, contains a nice exposition of the famous *rasa* theory. The book also contains sixteen useful appendices.

Dr. Majumdar's work is undoubtedly a very valuable addition to the Caitanya literature.

N. N. BHATTACHARYA

NOTICES OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

D. R. Das

A.—BOOKS

1. Agrawala, Prithvi Kumar. *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti kī Rūp-rekhā*, Varanasi Vishwavidyalaya Prakasani, 1969, pp. 365; price Rs. 3.50.

2. Bailey, H. W. *Khotanese Texts*: *Indo-Scythian Studies*, Vols. I-III, Cambridge University Press, 1946-56, reprint 1969, pp. xxviii+538; price £15.

3. Bali, Amar Nath. *Glimpses of Punjab's History*, published by the author, Delhi, 1969, pp. 180; price Rs. 10.00.

4. Beal, Samuel. *Buddhist Records of the Western World (Si-yu-ki)*, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, reprint 1969, pp. cviii+242+v+370; price Rs. 50.00.

5. Beteille, Andra. *Castes Old and New*: *Essays in Social Structure and Social Stratification*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1969, pp. viii+254; price Rs. 30.00.

6. Bhāvamiśra. *Bhāva Prakāśa Nighaṇṭu* (*Indian Materia Medica*) of Śrī-Bhāvamiśra (c. 1500-1600 A.D.), Hindi commentary by K. C. Chunekar, ed. by G. S. Pandey, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1969; price Rs. 12.00.

7. Bhattacharya, T. P. *The Cult of Brahmā*, 2nd ed., Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1969; price Rs. 25.00.

8. Bhavani, Enakshi. *Decorative Designs and Craftsmanship of India*, D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Private Ltd., Bombay. 1969; price Rs. 65.00.

9. Bisham Pal, H. *The Temples of Rajasthan*, 1969, Royal 8vo, cloth, with many illustrations; price £4 7s. 6d.

10. Chakraborti, Haripada. *Pāśupata Sūtram*, Academic Publishers, Calcutta, 1970, pp. 224; price Rs. 20.00.

11. Chatterjee, Suniti Kumar. *India and Ethiopia*, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1968, pp. 80, Plates 26; price Rs. 25.00.

12. Chattopadhyaya, Debiprasad. *Indian Atheism*: *A Marxist Analysis*, Manisha, Calcutta, 1969, pp. 328; price Rs. 20.00.

13. Chi, R. S. Y. *Buddhist Formal Logic*, Part I: *A Study of Dignāga's Hetucakra and K'uei-chi's Great Commentary on the Nyāyapraveśa*, Vol. I, Dr. B. C. Law Trust Fund, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1969, pp. lxxxii+222.

14. Choudhary, R. K. *Kauṭilya's Political Ideas and Institutions*, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi; price Rs. 25.00.

15. Clark, Grahame. *World Prehistory*: *A New Outline*, Cam-

bridge University Press, 2nd ed., 1969, pp. 347 and Plates 17, 70 maps; price 18s., $ 2.95.

16. Cordier, H. *Bibliotheca Indosinica, Dictionnaire Bibliographique des Ouvrages relatifs a la Peninsule Indochinoise*, 5 Vols., 1912-32, repr. Taiwan, 1969, pp. 1513 (3026 columns), 309 (Index), Publication de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient; price £ 30.

17. Dar, S. N. *Costumes of India and Pakistan, A Historical and Cultural Study*, D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Private Ltd., Bombay, 1969, pp. xiv+244, Plates 142; price Rs. 80.00.

18. Devasthali R. N., ed. *Prof. R. N. Dandekar Felicitation Volume* (*Indian Antiquary*, Third Series, Vol. III), Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1969, pp. xiii+208; price Rs. 20.00.

19. Dutta, N. K. *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, Vol. II, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta; price Rs. 15.00.

20. Edwardes, M. *Everyday Life in Early India*, Everyday Life Series, 1969; price 30s.

21. Fergusson, J., and Burgess, J. *The Cave Temples of India*, 1880, reprint 1969, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, pp. xx+538, with 98 Plates, 75 text illustrations and 1 map; price Rs. 125.00.

22. Gahlot, Sukhvir Singh. *Rājasthān kā Saṁkṣipt Itihās*, Hindi Sahitya Mandir, Jodhpur, 1969, pp. 408; price Rs. 16.00.

23. Ghurye, G. S. *Caste and Race in India* being the fifth edition of *Caste, Class and Occupation*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1969, pp. 490; price Rs. 40.00.

24. Goetz, H. *Studies in the History and Art of Kashmir and the Indian Himalaya*, Schriftenreihe des Sudasiens-Institutes der Universitat Heidelberg, 1969, pp. viii+197 with 49 Plates and a portrait; price £7 15s.

25. Gopal, B. R. *Karnatak Inscriptions*, Vol. V, Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1969, pp. xl+358; price Rs. 15.00.

26. Grierson, G. A. *The Piśāca Languages of North-Western India*, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, reprint 1969, pp. viii+192; price Rs. 22.50.

27. Gulabrai. *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti*: *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti kī Rūprekhā aur Prācīn Bhāratīya Kalā*, Ravindra, Gwalior, 1969, pp. 264; price Rs. 12.50.

28. Gupta, P. L. *Coins*, National Book Trust of India, New Delhi, 1969, pp. 241+xxxiv; price Rs. 9.50.

29. Gupta, R. K. *Political Thought in the Smṛti Literature*, 1969; price 37s. 6d.

30. Jauhari, Manorama. *Col aur unkī Kalā* (Hindi), Bhāratīya Vidyā Prakāśan, Varanasi, 1969, royal 8vo pp. 43; price Rs. 6.00.

31. Jauhari, Manorama. *Prācīn Bhāratmeṁ Varṇāśramvyavasthā*, Bhāratīya Vidyā Prakāśan, Varanasi, 1969, pp. 221; price Rs. 5.00.

32. Hopkins, E. W. *Social Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India: The Status of Woman*, ed. D. C. Sircar, Department of AIHC, Calcutta University, 1969, pp. 89; price Rs. 7.00.

33. Hultzsch, E. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, 1925, reprint 1969, Indological Book House, Delhi, pp. cxxxi+260 with 55 plates; price Rs. 175.00.

34. Humphrey, Christmas. *The Buddhist Way of Life*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1969, pp. 224; price 40s.

35. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 26 Vols., Bombay 1841-1923, reprint 1969, 8 vols. cloth-bound set in facsimile reprint.

36. Kalyanaraman, A. *Āryataraṅgiṇī: The Saga of the Indo-Aryans*, Vol. I, Asia Publishing House, 1969, pp. 466+xxxv; price Rs. 40.00.

37. Khair, G. S. *Quest for the Original Gītā*, Somaiya Publications Pvt. Ltd., Bombay, 1969, pp. xiv+248; price Rs. 32.00.

38. Kothari, K. S. *Indian Folk Musical Instruments*, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1969, pp. 99 with 59 illustrations; price Rs. 20.00.

39. Krishna Deva. *Temples of North India*, National Book Trust of India, New Delhi, 1969, pp. 87 with 28 illustrations, price Rs. 4.00.

40. Lal, K. S., ed. *Studies in Asian History*, Proceedings of the Asian History Congress, 1961, Royal 8vo, cloth, Indian Council for Cultural Relations, 1969.

41. Law, B. C., and Sinha, S. R., ed. *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I., 8vo cloth, 1969.

42. Leider, K. *Buddha: Leben-Lehre-Jungerscher*, 8vo cloth, pp. 528, with illustrations, 1969; price £9.

43. Mabbett, I. *A Short History of India*, 8vo, cloth, pp. 270 with illustrations and maps, £2. 5s.

44. Maheśvarānanda. *Le Mahārthamañjarī de Maheśvarānanda avec des Extraits du Parimala*, Traduction et Introduction par L. Silburn, L'Instut de Civilisation Indienne, 1969, royal 8vo pp. 228; price £3.

45. Maity, S. K. *Economic Life in Northern India*, 2nd ed., Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1970, pp. 314; price Rs. 25.00.

46. Majmudar, M. R. *Gujarat: Its Art Heritage*, University of Bombay, 1968, pp. 168, plates 70; price Rs. 40.00.

47. Majumdar, R. C. *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, 3rd ed., Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1969; pp. 391; price Rs. 25.00.

48. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, translated with notes by F. E. Pargiter, 1904, reprint 1969, 8vo cloth, pp. xxxv+730, Bibliotheca Indica, New Series, 700, 706, 810, 872, 890, 947, 1058, 1076, 1104.

49. Mehta, Rustam J. *Konarak: The Sun-Temple of Love*. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Private Ltd., Bombay, 1969, pp. 46 with 76 plates; price Rs. 25.00.

50. Miller, J. Innés. *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire, 29 B.C. to A.D. 641*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1969, pp. xxiii+294, 2 plates; price 84s.

51. Misra, A. P. *Development and Place of Bhakti in Śaṅkara Vedānta*, 1969; price £2 5s. 6d.

52. Miśra, Jay Śankar. *Gyārah Sadikā Bhārat* (Hindī), Bhāratīya Vidyā Prakāśan, Varanasi, 1968, pp. 316; price Rs. 18.00.

53. Mookerji, Radha Kumud. *Ancient Indian Education : Brahmanical and Buddhist*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, reprint 1969, pp. xxxvi+655; price Rs. 45.00.

54. Mukherji, Sobha. *The Republican Trends in Ancient India*, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1969, pp. xvi+220; price Rs. 26.00.

55. Mukherjee, B. N. *Nanā on Lion*, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1969, pp. 159, plates 15; price Rs. 35.00.

56. Mukherji, P. C. *A Report on a Tour of Exploration of the Antiquities of Kapilavastu (Tarai of Nepal) during February and March 1899*, with a Prefactory Note by V. A. Smith, Archaeological Survey of India, No. XXVI, Part I, Imperial Series, Calcutta, 1901, reprint 1969, 4to, cloth, pp. 22+60 with 32 plates; price £4 10s.

57. Narain, A. K., and others. *Report on Rajghat Excavations*, 2 Vols., Memoir 3, Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University, 1969.

58. Naudou, J. *Les Bouddhistes Kashmiriens au Moyen Age*, Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliotheque d'Études, LXVIII, 1969, 8vo, pp. 242; price £4.

59. Pal, P., and Bhattacharya, D. C. *The Astral Divinities of Nepal*, Indian Civilisation Series, No. 9, Prithvi Prakasani, Varanasi, 1969, pp. 82; price Rs. 36.00.

60. Parpola, Asko, and others. *Decipherment of the Proto-Dravidian Inscriptions of the Indus Civilisation*, The Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, Copenhagen, Special Publications, No. 1, 1969, pp. 72.

61. Parpola, Asko, and others. *Progress in the Decipherment of the Proto-Dravidian Indus Script*, The Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, Copenhagen, Special Publications, No. 2, 1969, pp. 47.

62. Rai, G. S. *Paurāṇika Ākhyāna*, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1969; price Rs. 2.00.

63. Renou, L. *Études Vediques et Paniniennes*, Tome XVII. 1969, roy. 8vo, wrappers, pp. viii+96, l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne; price £2 5s.

64. Rūpa Gosvāmin, *Lalitamādhava Nāṭaka* with the commentary of Nārāyaṇa, edited with Introduction and critical notes by Babulal Sukla Sastri, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1969; price Rs. 15.00.

65. Sandhyākaranandī, *Rāmacarita*, trans. H. P. Sastri and ed. R. G. Basak, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1969; price Rs. 20.00.

66. Sankalia, H. D., and others. *Excavations at Ahar (Tambavati)*, Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, pp. xxii+245 with 141 figures and 30 plates; price Rs. 75.00.

67. *Sanskṛti: Dr. Ādityanāth Jhā Abhinandan Grantha*, Vol. III (in English), Dr. Adityanath Jha Abhinandan Grantha Samyojana Samiti, 1969, pp. 45+500 with 46 plates.

68. *Dr. Satkari Mookerji Felicitation Volume*, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1969, pages 595; price Rs. 90.00.

69. Saxena, S. K. *Bhāratīya Darśan men Cetanā kā Svarūp*, Chowkhamba Vidyabhawan, Varanasi, 1969, pp. 8+208; price Rs. 10.00.

70. Schulberg, L. *Historic India*, Great Ages of Man Series, Time-Life International, 1969, 4to, cloth, pp. 190 with illustrations; price £2 1s.

71. Shastri, Ajay Mitra. *India as seen in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1969, pp. 556, plates 21; price Rs 50.00.

72. Sircar, D. C., ed. *Prācyavidyā-taraṅgiṇī*, Department of AIHC, Calcutta University, 1969, pp. 540 with 49 plates; price Rs. 60.00.

73. Sircar, D. C., ed. *Foreigners in Ancient India and Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī in Early Indian Literature*, Calcutta University, 1970, pp. 192 with 8 plates; price Rs. 12.00.

74. Sircar, D. C., ed. *The Bhakti Cult and Ancient Indian Geography*, Calcutta University, 1970, pp. 228; price Rs. 12.50.

75. *Śivagītimālā* of Candraśekharendrasarasvatī, *Rāmāṣṭapadī* of Rāmakavi, ed. V. Raghavan, Kamakoti Matha, Kanchi, 1969, pp. 14+68; price Rs. 0.75.

76. Srivastava, B. *Pallava Itihās aur uskī Ādhār Saṁgrah*, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1969; price Rs. 6.00.

77. Stcherbatsky, F. Th. *Buddhist Logic*, Hindi trans. by Ramkumar Rai, Vol. I, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1960; price Rs. 30.00.

78. Suda, J. P. *Manu, Marx and Gandhi*, Jaiprakash Nath, Meerut, 1969.

79. Tregonning, K. G. *South-East Asia: a Critical Bibliography*, Oriental Studies Committee, University of Arizona, 1969, 4to pp. vi+103; price £2 10s.

80. Tucci, G. *Rati-līlā: Essay on Tantric Art in the Temples of Nepal*, 1969, Folio, cloth, pp. 168 with 168 illustrations in colour and 65 in black and white, Collection: Unknown Treasures; price £16 16s.

81. Turner, R. L. *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, Oxford University Press, 1969, pp. ix+357; price £10.

82. Upadhyaya, B. S. *Gupta Kāl kā Sāṁskṛtik Itihās*, Hindi Samiti, Lucknow, 1969, pp. 4+412; price Rs. 9.00.

83. Vatsyayan, K. *Classical Indian Dance in Literature and the Arts*, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1969, pp. xviv+431; price Rs. 60.00.

84. Venkatasubbiah, A. *Vedic Studies*, Vol. II, Adyar Library Series, Vol. 98, Adyar Library and Research Centre, Madras, 1969, pp. ix+283; price Rs. 15.00.

85. Guenther, H. V. *Yuganaddha: The Tantric View of Life*, 2nd ed., Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1969, price Rs. 16.00.

B. PERIODICALS

1. *The Adyar Library Bulletin*: *Brahmavidyā*, Vol. XXXIII, Parts 1-4, 1969.

J. Gonda. *Āyatana*, pp. 1 ff.

L. Sternback. On the Sanskrit Nīti Literature of Ceylon, pp. 80 ff.

G. Chemparathy. Two Little-known Fragments from Early Vaiśeṣika Literature on the Omniscience of Īśvara, pp. 117 ff.

J. D. M. Derrett. The Rights of Inheritance of Women, pp. 135 ff.

K. P. Aithal. *Ṛ*V Khilas and the Sūtras of Āśvalāyana, pp. 182 ff.

A. Venkatasubbiah. The *Pañcatantra* Version of Laws, pp. 195 ff.

V. Raghavan. On 'Hindu World', pp. 284 ff.

The *Ṛtuvarṇana* of Durlabha with a Commentary, ed. K. Kunjunni Raja, pp. 305 ff.

The *Kṛṣṇabhāvaśataka* by Bukkapaṭṭaṇam Venkaṭ-ācārya.

2. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. L, 1969, Parts I-IV.

A. Esteller. The Quest for the Original *Ṛgveda*, pp. 1 ff.

R. N. Dandekar. Some Aspects of the Indo-Mediterranean Contacts, pp. 57 ff.

Y. Krishan. Was it permissible for a *Saṁnyāsī* (Monk) to revert to lay life?, pp. 75 ff.

R. Godham and J. Masson. Who knows Rāvaṇa?—A Narrative Difficulty in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, pp. 95 ff.

3. *Antiquity*, Vol. XLIII, 1969.

Sir Gerard Clauson and John Chadwick. The Indus Script Deciphered?, pp. 200 ff.

T. Burrow. Dravidian and the Decipherment of the Indus Script, pp. 274 ff.

4. *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXXI, 2/3, 1969.

Vidya Dehejia. Early Buddhist Caves of Junnar, pp. 147 ff.

M. S. Nagaraja Rao. Sculptures from the Later Cālukyan Temple at Hāveri, pp. 167 ff.

K. Bharatha Iyer. An Early Gupta Seal of the Mahiṣāsuramardinī, pp. 179 ff.

5. *Arts Asiatiques*, Tome XIII, 1966, Sommaire.

Gérard Fussman. Notes sur la topographie de l'ancienne Kandahar, pp. 33ff.

Jean Naudou. Symbolisme du miroir dans l'Inde, pp. 59 ff.

M. E. Adiceam. Les images de Śiva dans l'Inde du Sud—V. Harihara, pp. 83 ff.

Kamalesvar Bhattacharya. Notes d'Iconographie Khmère—XIII. Viṣṇu Ananta-śāyin, pp. 111 ff.

Madeleine Giteau. Notes sur une école Cambodgienne de statuaire bouddhique inspirée de l'art d'Angkor Vat, pp. 115 ff.

6. *Bulletin of the Cultural Research Institute*, Vol. VII, No. 384, 1968.

T. Chattopadhyay. Bhadu—A Folk Godling, pp. 58 ff.

A. C. Bhowmic. Tribal Culture : Integration through Museums, pp. 70 ff.

S. K. Bhowmic. Reminiscences, pp. 82 ff.

7. *Bulletin of the Institute of Post-Graduate (Evening) Studies*, University of Delhi, 1969.

K. K. Mittal. 'Ontological Commitment'—in the Context of Buddhist Thought, pp. 84 ff.

P. Kumar. Epigraphic Evidence of the Cult of Śakti, pp. 111ff.

8. *Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures*, Madras, January-June, 1969.

S. Gurumurthy. Self-immolation in Ancient South India, pp. 44 ff.

N. Sankaranarayanan. Chariots in Ancient India, pp. 50 ff.

9. *Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture*, Vol. XX, 1969, Nos. 3-4.

Swami Ananyananda. Paths of Yoga in the *Gītā*: Jñānayoga, pp. 151 ff.

D. N. Sinha. Life and Message of the Buddha, pp. 181 ff.

Bhikshu J. Kashyap. Expansion of Buddhism in India and Abroad, pp. 193 ff.

10. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, Vol. XXXII, Part I, 1969.

M. Boyce, On Mithra's Part in Zoroastrianism, pp. 10 ff.

11. *Op. cit.*, Part II, 1969.

J. R. Marr. Some Manuscripts in Grantha Script in Bangkok, pp. 281 ff.

12. *Bulletin de la Société des Études Indochinoises*, Nouvelle Serie, Tome XLIV, 1969.

Trân Van Tôt. Introduction a l'art ancien du Viet-nam, pp. 5 ff.

Pierre Bernard Lafont. Les Genies dans la Peninsule Indochinoise, pp. 207 ff.

13. *The Calcutta Review*, New Series, Vol. I, No. 2, Oct.-Dec., 1969.
Suniti Kumar Chatterjee. Arya-Dramidika, pp. 217 ff.
M. Sahabuddin. Indian Religions and Customs, pp. 247 ff.
A. K. Chatterjee. Date of the *Mahābhārata*, pp. 321 ff.

14. *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XII, No. 4, 1969.
E. Tryjarski. Notes on the *Turcica* in Sir M. Aurel Stein's Collection, pp. 322 ff.

15. *East and West*, Vol. 18, Nos. 3-4, September-December, 1968.
G. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky. James Humpries. The Cairn Burials of South-Eastern Iran, pp. 269 ff.
K. Walton Dobbins. Gandhāra Buddha Images with Inscribed Dates, pp. 281 ff.
Giuseppe Tucci. Oriental Notes (III) : A Peculiar Image from Gandhāra, pp. 289 ff.
Guiseppe Tucci. Oriental Notes (IV): The Syncretistic Image of Mazār-i-sharīf, pp. 293 f.
Lawrence S. Leshnik. Prehistoric Exploration in North Gujarat and Parts of Rajasthan, pp. 295 ff.
R. C. Agrawala. Early Indian Bone Figurines in the National Museum, New Delhi, pp. 311 ff.
R. C. Agrawala. Umpublished Gupta Reliefs from Sultān Ghārī, near Delhi, pp. 315 ff.
R. C. Agrawala. Skanda from National Museum, New Delhi, and U. P. Hills, pp. 319 ff.
Brijendra Nath Sharma. Viṣṇu-Trivikrama in Literature, Art and Epigraphs, pp. 323 ff.
Vinod P. Dwivedi. Kerala Wood Carvings, pp. 325 ff.

16. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVII, 1967-1968, Part I, January, 1967.
Shobhana Gokhale. Hisse-Borala Inscription of Devasena, Śaka 380, pp. 1 ff.
G. S. Gai and S. Sankaranarayanan. Note on the Date of Hisse-Borala Inscription of the time of Vākāṭaka Devasena, pp. 5 ff.
V. V. Mirashi. Pandarangapalli Grant of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Avidheya, pp. 9 ff.
D. C. Sircar. Inscribed Terracotta Seal from Raktamṛttikā, pp. 25 ff.
S. Sankaranarayanan. Rentala Pillar Inscription of Siri-Cantamūla I, Year 5, pp. 29 ff.
M. K. Dhavalikar. Honavar Plates of Kaikeya Citrasena, Year 1, pp. 33 f.
G. S. Gai. Two Grants of Caulukya Bhīmadeva I, pp. 35 f.
H. K. Narasimhaswami. Cheruvu-Madhavaram Plates of Kali-Viṣṇuvardhana, pp. 41 ff.
V. V. Mirashi. A Note on the Coins of Mahiṣa Kings, pp. 45 ff.

V. S. Subrahmanyam. Panugallu Inscription of the time of Harihara II, Śaka 1319, pp. 50 ff.

17. *Op. cit.*, Part II, April, 1967.

S. Sankaranarayanan and G. Bhattacharya. Mahua Inscription of Vatsarāja, pp. 53 ff.

B R. Gopal and V. S. Subrahamanyam. Pattanakudi plates of Śilāhāra Avasara (II), Śaka 910, pp. 56 ff.

D. C. Sircar. Fragmentary Copper-plate Grant from Arakan, pp. 61 ff.

P. R. Srinivasan. Devnimori Relic Casket Inscription of Rudrasena, Kathika Year 127, pp. 67 ff.

V. V. Mirashi. Epigraphic Notes, pp. 70 ff.

S. Sankaranarayanan. Two Yādava Charters from Devalali, pp. 74 ff.

K. H. V. Sarma. Two Grants of Uṇḍirāja III, pp. 85 ff.

18. *Op. cit.*, Part III, June, 1967.

N. Venkataramanayya. The Siddhavatam Inscription of the time of Veṅkaṭapatirāya II and Matli Ananta, Śaka 1527, pp. 103 ff.

S. H. Ritti. Daddala Inscription of Cālukya Bhubanaikamalla, Śaka 991, pp. 113 ff.

V. V. Mirashi and A. Mitra-Sastri. A Fragmentary Stone Inscription from Kadwaha, pp. 117 ff.

S. Sankaranarayanan. Velpuru Inscription of Mādhavavarman I, Year 33, pp. 125 ff.

K. V. Ramesh. A Brāhmī Inscription from Belvadigi, pp. 131 ff.

G S. Gai. Agali Grant of Gaṅga Śrīpuruṣa, Śaka 669, pp. 133 ff.

P. R. Srinivasan. Three Western Kṣatrapa Inscriptions, pp. 139 ff.

M. Venkataramayya and C. B. Trivedi. Four Buddhist Inscriptions from Phophnar Kalan, pp. 147 ff.

19. *Op. cit.*, Part IV, October, 1967.

V. N. Srivastava. Two Image Inscriptions from Mathurā, pp. 151 ff.

Ram Sharma. Menal Inscription of the Cāhamāna Prince Meghanāda, Vikrama 1312, pp. 155 ff.

P. R. Srinivasan. Urajam Plates of Indravarman II, Year 97, pp. 159 ff.

C. L. Suri. A Cāhamāna Inscription of Vikrama 1189, pp. 163 ff.

M. S. Dikshit, Mahul (Trombay) Inscription of Haripāladeva, Śaka 1075, pp. 165 f.

G. S. Gai and P. R. Srinivasan. Two Maitraka Charters, pp. 167 ff.

H. K. Narasimhaswami and K. G. Krishnan. Chintakamanta Grant of Someśa, pp. 175 ff.

D C. Sircar. Note on the Aphsad Inscription of Ādityasena, pp. 185 ff.

K. V. Ramesh. Kondgulli Inscription of Bhūlokamalla, Year 7, pp. 189 ff.

20. *Op. cit.*, Part V, January, 1968.

D. Schlumberger. A New Greek Inscription of Aśoka at Kandahar, pp. 193 ff.

V. V. Mirashi. A Pillar Inscription of Mahākṣatrapa Rupiamma from Pawni, pp. 201 ff.

D. C. Sircar. Mahisantosh Image Inscription of Mahendrapāla, Year 15, pp. 204 ff.

C. L. Suri. Dhanta Image Inscription of Paramāra Somasiṁha, Vikrama 1277, pp. 209 ff.

S. R. Rao and B. Datta. Nilmangala Grant of Veṅkaṭa (II), Śaka 1554, pp. 212 ff.

G. S. Gai. Jodhpur Museum Inscription of Paramāra Vīsala, Vikrama 1174, pp. 222 ff.

P. R. Srinivasan. Mahulpara Plates of Mahāśivagupta-Dharmaratha, Year 11, pp. 225 ff.

J. Sundaram. Two Bhañja Copper-plates, pp. 233 ff.

21. *Indian Journal of History of Science*, Vol. IV, Nos 1 & 2, May and November, 1969.

Amulya Kumar Bag. Source Materials concerning Astronomy and Mathematics, pp. 1 ff.

K. A. Chowdhury. Archaeological Plant Remains from Pre- and Proto-historic Periods: a Source of History of Sciences, pp. 5 ff.

G. S. Dikshit. The *Śivatattvaratnākara* as a Source for Sciences in Ancient and Medieval India, pp. 11 ff.

C. G. Kashikar. Pottery in the Vedic Literature, pp. 15 ff.

T. M. P. Mahadevan. Philosophical Trends. V. History of Science in India—Heterodox Trends, pp. 42 ff.

T. A. Saraswati. Development of Mathematical Ideas in India, pp. 59 ff.

Amulya Kumar Bag. Sine Table in Ancient India, pp. 79 ff.

R. C. Gupta. Second Order Interpolation in Indian Mathematics up to the Fifteenth Century, pp. 86 ff.

Kripa Shankar Shukla. Astronomy in Ancient and Medieval India, pp. 99 ff.

T. S. Kuppanna Shastri. A Historical Development of Certain Hindu Astronomical Processes, pp. 107 ff.

T. S. Kuppanna Shastri. The School of Āryabhaṭa and the Peculiarities thereof, pp. 107 ff.

T. S. Kuppanna Shastri. The System of the *Vaṭeśvara Siddhānta*, pp. 135 ff.

22. *Indian Museum Bulletin*, No. 1, January, 1969.

A. K. Bhattacharyya. Indian Coins in the Muśee Guimet, pp. 7 ff.

D. C. Sircar. Recent Studies in the Epigraphic Records of Assam. pp. 39 ff.

Bholanath and M. K. Biswas. Animal Remains from Alamgirpur, pp. 43 ff.

A. K. Chatterjee. Characteristics of Skanda-Kārttikeya, pp. 60 ff.

A. Sarkar. Gaṇeśa the God of the People, pp. 84 ff.

S. Nandi. The Art of Ivory in Murshidabad, pp. 93 ff.

A. K. Bhattacharyya. A Dated Pañcarakṣā Manuscript of the Reign of Govindapāladeva, pp. 114 ff.

23. *Indian Studies*: *Past & Present*, Vol. X, No. 2, Jan.-March, 1969.

R. P. Chanda. Indo Aryan Races, pp. 91 ff.

Lama Tāranātha. History of Buddhism in India (translated from the Tibetan by Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya, edited by Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya), pp. 131 ff.

Th. Stcherbatsky. History of Materialism in India (translated by Harish C. Gupta), pp. 141 ff.

Harish C. Gupta. Nala and Damayantī and the Bard who sang it for the Russians, pp. 151 ff.

Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya and Mrinal Kanti Gangopadhyaya. Nyāyadarśana, Adhyāya III, pp. 157 ff.

24. *Op. cit.*, No. 3, April-June, 1969.

R. P. Chanda. Indo-Aryan Races, pp. 187 ff.

P. K. Bhattacharyya, The Shape of the Ahom Coins, pp. 275 ff.

Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya and Mrinalkanti Gangopadhyaya. Nyāyadarśana, Adhyāya III, pp. 279 ff.

25. *Op. cit.*, No. 4, July-September. 1969.

Th. Stcherbatsky. Theory of Poetry in India, pp. 289 ff.

Th. Stcherbatsky. Scientific Achievements in India, pp. 315 ff.

Th. Stcherbatsky. Dharmakīrti's Santānāntarasiddhi with Vinītadeva's Commentary, pp. 336 ff.

26. *The Indo-Asian Culture*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 1969.

S. Dutt. How India dealt with Buddhism, pp. 4 ff.

Aparna Chattopadhyay. Śakuntalā of the *Mahābhārata*—a Study, pp. 18 ff.

Ka Naa Subrahmanyam. The South in Indian Literary Tradition, pp. 44 ff.

Shamsuddin. Status of Women in Ancient India, pp. 58 ff.

P. Banerjee. A Manuscript dated in the Regnal Year 53 of Rāmapāla, pp. 61 ff.

Janaki Nath Sharma. A Note on Beef-eating in Mauryan times—A Rejoinder, pp. 65 ff.

27. *Iran*, Vol. VII, 1969.

G. Hermann. The Dārābgir Relief—Ardashīr or Shāpur? A Discussion in the Context of Early Sassanian Sculpture, pp. 63 ff.

28. *Itihās* (Bengali), Calcutta, New Series, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1376 B.S.

Rabindranath Chakrabarti. Bhaugolik Gauḍ-deś, pp. 71 ff.

29\. *Op. cit.*, No. 2, 1376 B.S.

B. N. Mukhopadhyay. Dīnāra, pp. 134 ff.

30\. *Itihās* (*Itihas Pariṣad Patrikā*), Dacca, Vol. III. No. 2, Bhādra-Agrahāyan, 1376 B.S.

Santoshchandra Bhattacharya. Aśoker Dharma, pp. 115 ff.

Muhammad Enamul Haq. Pūrva Pākistāner Pratnatāttvik Karmatatparatā, pp. 125 ff.

Mehrab Ali. Kānta Mandir, pp. 134 ff.

Wakil Ahmed. Bāṅglā Sāhityer Gauḍayug, pp. 150 ff.

31\. *Journal Asiatique*, Tome CCLV, Année 1967, Fascicules Nos. 3-4.

B. Pauly. Fragments sanskrits d'Afghanistan (fouilles de la D.A.F.A.), pp. 273 ff.

H. de Mastier. Ājña, Śāsana, pp. 375 ff.

32\. *Op. cit.*, Tome CCLVI, Année 1968, Fascicule No. 1.

H. de Mastier du Bourg. Le procès dans l'ancien droit Khmer, pp. 37 ff.

33\. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 89, No. 1, January-March, 1969.

B. A. van Nooten. Redundancy in *Mahābhārata* Verse Composition, pp. 50 ff.

34a. *Op. cit.*, No. 3, July-September, 1969.

J. L. Brockington. A Note on Mrs. Sen's Article about the *Rāmāyana*, pp. 412 ff.

34\. *Op. cit.*, No. 3, July-September, 1969.

A. Aklujkar, Two Textual Studies of Bhartṛhari, pp. 547 ff.

T. R. Trautmann, Length of Generation and Reign in Ancient India, pp. 563 ff.

35\. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX, No. 2, 1967.

Himansu Bhusan Sarkar. The Homeland of Prince Vijayasiṁha—a Reassessment of the Story, pp. 134 ff.

Dipak Chandra Bhattacharyya. Nāmasaṅgīti—a Rare Buddhist Icon, pp. 174 f.

B. N. Mukherjee. ḤNDSTN (Hindustān) of the Naqsh-i-Rustam Inscription of Shāpūr I, pp. 176 f.

D. N. Das. Was Maṇibhadra Identical with Maṇināga?, p. 179.

B. N. Mukherjee. The Hermaphrodite Figure on a Silver Plate, pp. 180 ff.

B. N. Mukherjee. A New Information on the Date of Kaniṣka I, pp. 182 f.

36\. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, New Series, Vols. 41-42, 1966-67.

Usha R. Bhise. Some Evidence for Earthquakes in the *Ṛgveda*, pp. 12 ff.

N. J. Shende. *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda*, pp. 56 ff.

M. D. Paradkar. A Note on Sadānīrā in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, pp. 78 ff.

L. B. Keny. The Mahābhārata War—A Historical Perspective, pp. 90 ff; also in *The Bhārata War and Purāṇic Genealogies*, ed. D. C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1969, pp. 28 ff.

G. V. Bapat. Vālmīki's Concept of the Brahmāstra, pp. 97 ff

H. S. Ursekar. Music in Sanskrit Drama, pp. 124 ff.

Bhagchandra Jain. Antiquity of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras and Buddhist Literature, pp. 145 ff.

K. V. Apte. A Note on Cārvāka Views referred to in the *Surasundaricaria* and *Nāṇapañcamikahāo*, pp. 150 ff.

Stephen Fuchs. The Dravidian Problem, pp. 153 ff.

B. C. Law. Some Ancient Kings of Ceylon, pp. 164 ff.

H. D. Sankalia. Early Man in India, pp. 173 ff.

S. A. Sali. Identification of Place-names mentioned in the Javakheda plates of Amoghavarṣa I, Śaka 742, pp. 182 ff.

Owen C. Kail. The Buddhist Caves at Sudhagarh, pp. 184 ff.

M. S. Nagaraja Rao. An Inscribed Keśava Image from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, pp. 190 ff.

Durga Bhagvat. A Critical Bibliography of Folklore of Maharashtra, 1950-1966, pp. 203 ff.

B. D. Mirchandani. Identification of Al Bilāduri's Usaifān, pp. 251 ff.

37. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, Vol XIV, No. 1, 1969.

Ahmad Hasan Dani. Kuṣāṇa Civilisation in Pakistan, pp. 1 ff.

Hussain Khan. The Motive behind the Arab Invasion of Sind as gleaned from the *Futūh al Buldan*, pp. 59 ff.

38. *Op. cit.*, No. 2, 1969.

P. R. Barua. Buddha and Gods, pp. 113 ff.

Nazimuddin Ahmed. Evolution of Buddhist Stūpas and Monasteries in Ancient Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent, pp. 193 ff.

39. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society—Prof. Syed Hasan Askari Felicitation Volume*, 1968.

Basudev Upadhyay. Influence of Indian Grants on South-East Asian Records, pp. 10 ff.

Albert Deitrich. The Invention of the Zero, pp. 15 ff.

Gustav Roth. Remarks on the *Stūpa-lakṣaṇa-kārikā-viveccana*, pp. 35 ff.

D. C. Sircar. Śrīkuṇḍ Stone Slab Inscription of Śaka 1503, pp. 134 ff.

H. Jha. *Varṇa-ratnākara*: a Social Survey, pp. 249 ff.

40. *The Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, Vol.XXIV, January-October, 1968, Parts 1-4: *Umesha Mishra Commemoration Volume*, Vol. I, Parts 1, 2 & 3.

George Chemparathy. The Doctrine of Īśvara as exposed in the *Nyāyakandali*, pp. 25 ff.

Hajime Nakamura. Vedānta Philosophy in Philosophical and Religious Works, pp. 47 ff.

Karunesha Shukla. Some Missing Portions of the *Gotra-bhūmi*, pp. 129 ff.

T. K. Gopalaswamy Iyengar. Pre-Śaṅkara Upaniṣadic Philosophy as expounded by Kālidāsa, pp. 179 ff.

Śrīmannārāyaṇa Dvidedī. Mithilā tathā Tantra: Ek Ṭippanī, pp. 249 ff.

J. Duncan M. Derrett. "Mother-in-Law v. Daughter-in-Law". A Translation of the Anonymous *Svāśru-Snuṣā-Dhana-Saṁvāda*, pp. 261 ff.

R. S. Betai. State of Criminal Law in *Manusmṛti*, pp. 279 ff.

41. *Op. cit.*, Vol. XXV, January-October, 1969, Parts 1-4: *Umesha Mishra Commemoration Volume*, Vol. II, Parts 4 & 5.

Ludwik Sternbach. An Additional Note on Sundara-pāṇḍya's *Nitidviṣaṣṭikā*, pp. 333 ff.

Buddha Prakash. New Light on the Life and Works of Rāja-śekhara, pp. 367 ff.

V. Perumal. The Tamil Society of the Saṅgam Age, pp. 381 ff.

Ram Gopal. Vedic Sources of the Śāraṅgaka Legend of the *Mahābhārata*, pp. 397 ff.

K. Krishnamoorthy. Vopadeva and Hemādri on Bhaktirasa, pp. 403 ff.

R. B. Kulashreshtha. Return of Kālidāsa's Ṛtu-Saṁhāra, pp. 411 ff.

S. G. Kantawala. The Saṅgamanīya Gem Episode in the *Vikramorvaśīyam*, pp. 417 ff.

V. M. Bedekar. Kubera in Sanskrit Literature with special reference to the *Mahābhārata*, pp. 425 ff.

Ramanatha Jha. Bhavaprīta-Saṅgīt or a new Lyric Note in Maithilī Poetry, pp. 453 ff.

Shailendra Mohan Jha. Amṛtakara: A Dramatist and His Patron, pp. 459 ff.

Pratibhā Tevārī. *Kṣemendrakṛta Bṛhatkathāmañjarī meṁ Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti tathā Sāmājik Ādhunik Vicārdhārā*, pp. 469 ff.

J. Gonda. The Meaning of Vedic *Kāru*, pp. 479 ff.

Minoru Hara. A Note on the Epic Folk-Etymology of *Rājan*, pp. 489 ff.

Sadashiv A. Dange. *Śiprin* and *Śipiviṣṭa*, pp. 501 ff.

V. G. Rahurkar. Apropos the *Ṛgveda*, pp. 511 ff.

N. M. Kansara. *RV*. X. 14.1a: a Fresh Approach, pp. 517 ff.

B. M. Kapadia. The Word *Garta* in the *Ṛgveda*, pp. 521 ff.

S. N. Ghoshal, A Syntactial Agreement between the Aśokan Prakrit and Ardha-Māgadhī, pp. 531 ff.

C. R. Sankaran and R. N. Sundaram. A Historical Study of Caarpeḷuttu in Tamil Grammar and their Commentaries, pp. 551 ff.

Bholā Nāth Tivārī. *Saṁskṛt Bhāṣā meṁ prayukt kuch prācīnatam Videśī śabd*, pp. 567.

42. *Journal of Indian History*. Vol. XLVII, Part I, April, 1969.

H. B. Sarkar. Fa-hien's Itinerary from Tamralipti to China, pp. 1 ff.

N. N. Bhattacharyya. Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain Cosmography, pp. 43 ff.

B. N. Puri. The Bhairava Worship in India and Indonesia, pp. 89 ff.

Om Prakash. On the Identity of Parvataka, pp. 127 ff.

D. K. Chakravarti. A Note on the Sūrya Image from Mahisantosh, pp. 155 ff.

43. *Op. cit.*, Part II, August, 1969.

B. D. Mirchandani. Hiuen Tsiang's Place-names Khie-tsi-shi-fa-lo, Lang-kie-lo and Su-nu-chi-shi-fa-lo, pp. 237 ff.

B. P. Mazumdar. Political Theory and Practice in the Mālava and Yaudheya Republics, pp. 303 ff.

J. C. Russell. The Population of Hiuen Tsang's India (A.D. 629-645), pp. 367 ff.

G. Jawaharlal. The Date of Vinayāditya's Accession, pp. 385 ff

44. *Journal of the Karnatak University*, Vol. XIII, 1969.

B N. Modak. Magic in Atharvavedic Literature, pp. 8 ff.

45. *Journal of the Kerala University Oriental Research Institute and Manuscript Library*, Vol. XVII, Nos. 3-4, 1968.

Śrīkṛṣṇanuktakam, pp. 1 ff.

Śrīcihnakāvyam, pp. 13 ff.

Rājasūyaprabandhaḥ, pp. 33 ff.

Praśnāyanam, pp. 49 ff.

Aṅkanaśāstram, pp. 95 ff.

Vasulakṣmīkalyāṇam, pp. 109 ff.

Bhāsa's Vidūṣakas, pp. 127 ff.

46. *Journal of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda*, Vol. XVII, No.1, April, 1968.

A. N. Jani. An Exposition of the Rasa-theory in the *Rasakaumudi* of Śrīkaṇṭha, pp. 99 ff.

R. N. Mehta. *Nāgarakhaṇḍa*—A Study, pp. 103 ff.

S. C. Malik. Regionalism : A Study in Cultural Ecology, pp. 129 ff.

R. N. Mehta. Ring Wells : Method of Construction, pp. 137 ff.

Bridget Allchin. The Background of Early Man in the Narmada Valley, Gujarat : A Preliminary Report of the 1969 Season's Field Work, pp. 141 ff.

47. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXXI, Part I, 1969.

R. S. Sharma. Coins and Problems of Early Indian Economic History, pp. 1 ff.

V. C. Srivastava. Solar Symbols on Sūryamitra-Bhānumitra Coins, pp. 9 ff.

A. K. Srivastava. Kuṣāṇa Gold Coins from Barabanki District, pp. 15 ff.

V. V. Mirashi. A Coin of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman II, pp. 22 ff.

R. N. Mehta and B. Suryavanshi. Silver Coins of Sarva and Sasabhaṭṭāraka from Bilodara, pp. 27 ff.

P. C. Roy. Madanapāla, the issuer of the Horseman-and-Bull Type, pp. 48 ff.

D. Schlingloff. Stamp Seal of a Buddhist Monastery, pp. 69 f.

K. Oberai. On Coins of Menander, pp. 70 f.

D. M. S. Parmar. A Mitra Coin, pp. 716.

R. N. Misra. A New Coin-type of Ravināga, pp. 72 f.

R.` K. Sethi. A Copper Seal of the Gupta Period, pp. 74 f.

G. B. Sharma. A Seal and Sealing from Ludhiana District, pp. 75 f.

48. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, March, 1969.

Ganesh Umakant Thite. Utsannayajña, pp. 179 ff.

A. N. Upadhye. On Some Under-currents of the Nātha-sampradāya or the *Carpaṭa-śataka*, pp. 198 ff.

J. Masson. Who killed Cock Krauñca? Abhinavagupta's Reflections on the Origin of Aesthetic Experience, pp. 207 ff.

K. R. Norman. Middle Indo-Aryan Studies VII, pp. 225 ff.

Harihar Bhatt and Chhottubhai Suthar. The Length of a Tithi, pp. 232 ff.

Shobhana Gokhale. Daulatpur Inscription of Ābhīra Īśvaradeva, Ś. 254, pp. 237 ff.

G. G. Krishnaiah. A Rare Cālukyan Bronze Image, pp. 244 ff.

G. S. Gai. Three Inscriptions of Rāmagupta, pp. 247 ff.

R. C. Agrawala. Newly Discovered Sculpture from Vidiśā, pp. 252 ff.

Umakant P. Shah. A Further Note on Rāmagupta Inscriptions, pp. 254 ff.

49. *Op. cit.*, No. 4, June 1969.

Robert Goldman. Mortal Man and Immortal Woman: An Interpretation of Three Ākhyāna Hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, pp. 273 ff.

S. N. Ghoshal, The Ārṣa Prakrit as Hemaçandra viewed it, pp. 304 ff.

H. C. Bhayani. About the Language of the *Śūdrakakathā*, pp. pp. 315 ff.
V. V. Mirashi. Is Vijaya mentioned in Nagarjunakonda Inscriptions the Name of Cyclic Year?, pp. 318 ff.
B. Vidyadhara Rao. Occurrence of Sexagenary Cycles in Two Inscriptions of Nagarjunakonda, pp. 323 ff.
S. S. Rana. King Candra of Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription, pp. 326 ff.
Aparna Chattopadhyay. Mujmalut-Tawārikh and the Rāmagupta Problem of Gupta History, pp. 331 ff.
V. M. Kulkarni. *Kalpalatāviveka*: a Study, pp. 337 ff.
R. C. Agrawala. Learning the Alphabets, pp. 358 ff.
H. R. Gaudani and M. A. Dhaky. Sculptures from Kaleshwari-ni Nal, pp. 360 ff.

50. *Op. cit.*, Vol. XIX, Nos. 1-2, September-December, 1969.
John Brockington. The Verbal System of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, pp. 1 ff.
Dalsukhbhai D. Malvania. *Prañjāpanā* and *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, pp. 35 ff.
Anantalal Thakur. Ṣālikanātha, the Vaiśeṣika, pp. 46 ff.
B. N. Bhatt. Ṣaṅkarācārya's Advaita and the Pratyabhiñjā System—a Comparison, pp. 53 ff.
J. Masson. A Note on the Sources of Bhāsa's (?) *Avimāraka*, pp. 60 ff.
J. P. Thaker. Costumes and Decorations in Bhāravi, pp. 75 ff.
H. W. Wells. Indian Classical Tradition and Modern Science, pp 90 ff.
Aparna Chattopadhyay. Polygamy in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, pp. 102 ff.
B. J. Sandesara. Ānandapura in Jaina Canonical Literature, pp. 106 ff.
A. K. Sharma. Kalibangan Human Skeletal Remains—an Osteo-Archaeological Approach, pp. 109 ff.
N. M. Kansara. Kamvānā Grant of Bhīmadeva II of Aṇahillapāṭaka (V. Saṁ. 1261, i.e. 1204 A.D.), pp. 114 ff.
Y. Gopala Reddy. The Art of Warfare under the Kākatīyas of Warangal, pp. 119 ff.
V. V. Mirashi. Some Aspects of the Rāmagupta Problem, pp. 139 ff.
U. P. Shah. Some Aspects of the Rāmagupta Problem—a Reply to Mm. Mirashi, pp. 152 ff.
M. A. Dhaky. The Aruṇeśvara Temple at Kasindra, pp. 157 ff.
M. N. Gandhi. 'Turaga' Motif in *Pramāṇamañjarī*, pp. 160 ff.
R. C. Agrawala. Unpublished Sculptures from Udaipur Region, pp. 164 ff.

H. Bhatt and C. Suthar. The Length of Tithi—Appendix, pp. 167 ff.

51. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Parts 3-4, 1968.

R. E. Emmerick. Some Khotanese Inscriptions on Objects d'Art, pp. 140 ff.

J P. Sharma. The Republic of the Nāyas, pp. 144 ff.

52. *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. LVII, Part I, January, 1969.

S. Singaravelu. A Note on the possible Relationship of King Rāma Khamhaeng's Sukhodaya Script of Thailand to the Grantha Script of South India, pp. 1 ff.

A. B. Griswold and Prasert ṇa Nagara. The Aśokārāma Inscription of 1399 A.D.: Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 2, pp. 29 ff.

A. B. Griswold and Prasert ṇa Nagara. The Pact between Sukhodaya and Nān: Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 3, pp. 57 ff.

A. B. Griswold and Prasert ṇa Nagara. A Law Promulgated by the King of Ayudhyā in 1397 A.D.: Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 4.

J. J. Boeles. A *Rāmāyaṇa* Relief from the Khmer Sanctuary at Pimai in North-East Thailand, pp. 163 ff.

53. *Op. cit.*, Vol. LVIII, Part I, January, 1970.

A. B. Griswold and Prasert ṇa Nagara. A Pact between Uncle and Nephew: Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 5, pp. 89 ff.

54. *Journal of the Tribhuvan University*, Vol. IV, No. 1, June, 1968.

T. R. Vaidya. Kingship during the Malla Period, pp. 18 ff.

R. N. Pandey. Kapilavastu Temple Architecture, pp. 61 ff.

P. R. Sharma. Introduction to Nepalese Art and Architecture, pp. 74 ff.

55. *Journal of University of Bombay*, New Series, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 74, October, 1969.

G. K. Bhat. Minor Ṛgvedic Enemies of Indra: Śambara, pp. 1ff.

S. A. Dange. Aspects of the Great Roar in the *Ṛgveda*, pp. 11 ff.

W. R. Antarkar. On the Sources of the Plot of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, pp. 19 ff.

J. C. Jain. The Importance of Prakrit Literature with reference to the Spread of Jain Religion in its Earlier Stage during the Early Centuries, pp. 41 ff.

J. P. de Souza. The Symbol of the Double-headed Eagle: its Origin, Diffusion and Significance—a Study in the Migration of Symbols, pp. 117 ff.

J. V. Ferreira. Work and Primitive Man, pp. 135 ff.

S. D. Patel. Sociology and Indian Arts, pp. 140 ff.

V. D. Rao. The Pathare Prabhus: Traditional Origin and History, pp. 235 ff.

56. *The Magadh University Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1969.

M. K. Sharan. Numismatics: its Scope and Limitations, pp. 60 ff.

57. *The Mahabodhi*, Vol. 77, Nos. 7-8, July-August, 1969.

K. N. Jayatileke. The Conditioned genesis of the Individual or the Doctrine of Paṭiccasamuppāda, pp. 246 ff.

H. Saddhatissa. Kamma, pp. 252 ff.

R. L. Soni. A Psychological Look at the Dhammadūta Work, pp. 256 ff.

Amarasiri Weeraratne. Religion, Science and the Buddha-Dhamma, pp. 264 ff.

Sudhir Barua. Buddhism in Afghanistan, pp. 268 ff.

Narada Maha Thera. Borobudur, pp. 278 ff.

S. Krishnamurti The Valley of Nagarjunakonda—Cradle of an Ancient Culture, pp. 273 ff.

N. Yermoshkin. Ivolga—Buddhist Centre in USSR, pp. 275 ff.

58. *Op. cit.*, No. 9, September, 1969.

U Nu. Buddhism after Mahāparinibbāna, pp. 294 ff.

S. C. de Silva. The Buddhist Universe, pp. 303 ff.

Mithileshwar Prasad. What Marxism Clarifies in Buddhism, pp. 307 ff.

Bhikkhu Dhammapala. Buddhism, pp. 312 ff.

Pitt Chin Hui. Vesak, pp. 320 ff.

59. *Op. cit.*, No. 10, October, 1969.

K. N. Jayatileke. The Case for the Buddhist Theory of Survival and Kamma, pp. 334 ff.

K. Saha. Some Buddhist Monks of Central Asia in China, pp. 341 f.

F. V. Lustig. The Kyaikhtiyo Pagoda, pp. 343 f.

60. *Op. cit.*, Nos. 11-12, November-December, 1969.

K. N. Jayatileke. The Case for the Buddhist Theory of Survival and Kamma, pp. 371 ff.

D. N. Varma. The Image of Buddha, pp. 381 ff.

61. *The Memoirs of the Institute of Oriental Culture*, No. 49, March, 1969.

Shigeo Kamata. The Philosophical Background of the Development of Zen Buddhism in China, in relation to the Śraddhotpāda-śāstra, pp. 43 ff.

62. *Man*, Vol. IV, No. 4, December, 1969.

Brenda E. F. Beck. Colour and Heat in South Indian Ritual, pp. 553 ff.

Lawrence S. Leshnik. A Unique Implement from a South Indian Megalithic Burial, pp. 641 ff.

63. *Man in India*. Vol. 49, No. 3, July-September, 1969.

Clarence Maloney. The Paratavar: 2000 Years of Culture Dynamics of a Tamil Caste, pp. 224 ff.

64. *Mithilā-Bhāratī*, Vol. I, Nos. 3-4, September-December, 1969.

J. S. Jha. Mithilākā Prācīn Parīkṣā Praṇati, pp. 105 ff

S. M. Jha. Vidyāpatik Śiv-Viṣayak duṭā Pad, pp. 119 ff.

J. N. Thakur. Mithilā evaṁ Tibbat ka Vāṇijya-vyāpār, pp. 193 ff.

D. S. Upadhyay. Mithilāk Lok-citrakalā, pp. 198 ff.

L. P. Singh. Kī Mithilāk rājdhānī Lakhnaur chala?, pp. 205 ff.

65. *Nāgarīpracāriṇī Patrikā*, Vol. 72, Nos. I-IV.

M. P. Tripathi. Vaidik Vāṅmay meṁ Vṛṣabha, pp. 150 ff.

K. L. Sarma. Haḍautī kā Kṣetra tathā uskā Sīmāvartinī Boliyon se Aṁtar, pp. 229 ff.

A. S. Khan. *Vaṁśabhāskar* aur Itihās, pp. 286 ff.

S. N. Dikshit. Prācīn Bhāratīya Raṅgaśālāyeṁ meṁ *Yavanikā*, pp. 409 ff.

M. I. Khan. Sarasvatī ke Katipay Ṛgvedī Veśeṣaṇoṁ kī Vivecan. pp. 469 ff.

66. *Nālandā (Bengali)*, Vol. IV, No. 4, 1376 B.S.

N. R. Mutsuddi. Bauddha Darśaner Saṁkṣipta Ālocanā, pp. 95 ff.

A. Das. Bāṅgālī Buddha Ācārya, pp. 100 ff.

S. Chaudhuri. Ācārya Āryadev, pp. 103 ff.

N. C. Jana. Ādi-Kavi Vālmīki O Kavi Aśvaghoṣ, pp. 108 ff.

S. Sengupta. Maharṣi Agastya O Dakṣiṇ-pūrva Asia, pp. 113 ff.

J. Ray. Jātake Saṁskṛta Sāhityer kāhinī, pp. 166 ff.

67. *Oriens Extremus*, 15 Jahrgang, Heft 1, Juni, 1968.

Walter Fuchs. Zur Verteilung des Śūraṁgamasūtra i.J. 1771 nebst Bemerkungen über den Zweiten Jebtsundamba Khutukhtu und seine Residenz am Fluss Jben, pp. 83 ff.

68. *Op. cit.*, Heft 2, December, 1968.

Jan Yün-hua. South India in the VIII Century, pp. 169 ff.

69. *Our Heritage*, Vol. XVI, Part II, July-December, 1968.

Cārucandra Darśanācārya. Vedāntasamīkṣā, pp. 33 ff.

70. *Proceedings of the Americal Philosophical Society*, Vol. 113, 1969

Paul-Emile Dumont. The Kāmya Animal Sacrifices in the *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*, pp. 34 ff.

Joseph J. Spengler. Kauṭilya, Plato, Lord Shang: Comparative Political Economy, pp. 450 ff.

71. *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies,* Vol. IX, No. 1, 1969-70.

B. K. Deambi. Sharada Inscriptions in Kashmir, pp. 26 ff.

M. Yasin. Sources of the History of Kashmir (10th-12th century). pp. 33 ff.

72. *Op. cit.*, No. 2, 1969-70.

P. R. Mahapatra. Currency System in Medieval Orissa, pp. 72 ff.

S. S. Rangnekar. The Strategy of Alexander the Great, pp. 97 ff.

73. *Roop-Lekha,* Vol. XXXVII, No. 182.

Kiran Kumar Thaplyal. Art Motifs on a Guptā Sealing, pp. 30 ff.

74. *Ṛtam: Journal of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad,* Vol. I, No. 1, July 1969.

Some of the Most Important Manuscripts in the Pariṣad's Collection, pp. xiii ff.

L. M. Joshi. Gauḍapāda's Rapprochement between Buddhism and Vedānta, pp. 11 ff.

Buddha Prakash. New Light on an Episode in Pratihāra-Rāṣṭrakūṭa History, pp. 59 ff.

J. Gonda. Viṣṇu's Name Aniruddha, pp. 63 ff.

G. C. Sinha. The Law of Tarts under the Hindu Legal System and the Liability of the Government thereunder for Wrongs committed by its Servants, pp. 93 ff.

K. K. Thaplyal. Elephant-and-lion Molif: A Glyptic Depiction, pp. 121 ff.

K. D. Bajpai. Indra in Early Literature and Art, pp. 127 ff.

S. S. Sarkar. Human Remains in Kauśāmbī, pp. 131 ff.

K. Krishnamoorthy. Kālidāsa and Nature, pp. 137 ff.

C. G. Hartman. Different Interpretations of Devī and Kālī, pp. 151 ff.

K. C. Varadachari. Ṛṣi Śvetāśvatara, p. 155.

K. C. Varadachari. Brahman and Īśvara, p. 156.

Sadhu Ram. Dr. Buddha Prakash's Article—Sā'dī at Somanātha: a Criticism, pp. 158 ff.; also above, Vol. I, pp. 70-71.

75. *Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā* (Bengali), Vol. LXXIII, Nos. I-IV, 1373 B.S.

Amalendu Mitra. Dharma Ṭhākurer Kūrmamūrti, pp. 1 ff.

A. N. Ray. Bāṅgālār Madhyayugīya Mṛt-śilpa, pp. 40 ff.

76. *Sāravat* (Bengali), Vol. II, No. 2, 1376 B.S.

Debaprasad Ghosh. Ekṭi Citrita Pāṇḍulipi O Bāṅglār Paṭ, pp. 152 ff.

77. *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*, AFD. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel LXXIV, No. 2.

C. C. Begr. Māyā's Hemelvaart in het Javaanse Buddhisme.

78. *Op. cit.*, Deel LXXXV, No. 1.

J. Gonda. Eye and Gaze in the Veda.

79. *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. VI, 1958.

Vishva Bandhu. Indological Studies in India: A Retrospect and a Prospect, pp. 1 ff.

A. Venkatasubbiah. On *Ṛgveda* 2.11.20 and 4.45.2, pp. 25 ff.

R. M. Smith. Emanation or Creation: Causation in Early India. pp. 50 ff.

S. Basu. Lotus-birth in Vedic and Pali Literature, pp. 61 ff.

G. Chemparathy. The Īśvara doctrine of Praśastapāda, pp. 65 ff.

S. Venktasubramania Iyer. The Essentials of Tantra in Kerala, pp. 88 ff.

L. Joshi. *Citta* and *Cittamātra*: Mind and the 'Mere Mind' in Buddhism, pp. 93 ff.

S. S. Rana. King Candra of Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription, pp. 106 ff.

M. S. R. Anjaneyulu. Hemu—The Indian Meteor, pp. 112 ff.

M. A. Dhaky. Kṣemaṅkarī: The Cult Image of the Ambikā Temple, Jagat, pp. 117 ff.

I. M. Gupta. Haḍambā Temple of Dhungri, Himachal Pradesh, pp. 121 ff.

B. M. Pande. Sculptures from Kohand, District Karnal, Panjab, pp. 125 ff.

K. K. Sarkar. Opening Formula in Some Cambodian Inscriptions, pp. 130 ff.

80. *Op. cit.*, Vol. VII, 1969.

G. U. Thite. Non-attractive Dakṣiṇās in Śrauta Ritual, pp. 25 ff.

U. Thakur. Caṇḍeśvara and his *Rājanītiratnākara*, pp. 56 ff.

S. G. Moghe. Vijñāneśvara and Pūrvamīmāṁsā, pp. 89 ff.

Ajay Kumar Lahiri. A Reappraisal of the Pāla-Rāṣṭrakūṭa Tripartite Struggle, pp. 100 ff.

S. N. Roy. On the Identification of the Purāṇic King Pramati, pp. 109 ff.

D. Haṇḍa. Protohistoric Culture Complex of Panjab, pp. 119 ff.

B. N. Sharma. A Rare Image of Varāha in the National Museum, New Delhi, pp. 130 ff.

L. P. Pandey. The Worship of Revanta in Ancient India, pp. 134 ff.

Buddha Prakash. Science and Technology in Ancient India: Social and Political Influences, pp. 143 ff.

81. *World Archaeology*, Vol. I, No. 1, June, 1969.

H. D. Sankalia. Promlems in Indian Archaeology, and Methods and Techniques adopted to tackle them, pp. 29 ff.

OBITUARY

V. S. Agrawala

(1904-66)

Dr. Vasudev Sharan Agrawala breathed his last on the 27th July, 1966. In his death, the world has lost a great man and a great Indologist.

Dr. Agrawala was born in a Vaiśya family on the 7th August, 1904, at Khera, a village in the Meerut District. His grandfather Jhabbamal Shah, an industrious and hardworking farmer, acquired landlordship in five villages. His personality influenced young Vasudev a great deal; because the latter's father, Gopi Nath, stayed away most of the time in connection with his work. Jhabbamal daily recited the *Bhāgavata* and the *Viṣṇusahasranāma* and offered a ghee-lamp in a Śiva temple. Vasudev, who called himself a *Parama-Vaiṣṇava*, was also devoted to Lord Śiva. He received his school education at Lucknow, studied I.A. and B.A. at the Banaras Hindu University, and obtained his M.A. degree from Lucknow University in 1927 and the Ph.D. and D.Litt. degrees of the same University respectively in 1941 and 1946. For his research degrees, he wrote his thesis on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* under the guidance of the late Prof. R. K. Mookerji. This work published under the title *India as known to Pāṇini* he dedicated to his teacher for whom he had a great devotion. Vasudev was also a graduate of Law. He had a brilliant academic record standing first in all examinations except in B.A. in which his position was second. He actively participated in Mahatma Gandhi's Non-Cooperation Movement. The Mahatma's ideas and philosophy influenced him and shaped his personality which was characterised by truth, honesty, determination, fearlessness, modesty, plain living, love and compassion and exclusive use of Khādī. He allowed his dogs to sleep in his room and birds to build nests in his book-shelves. Sixteen to eighteen hours' work per day was normal for him. Sometimes he worked even for thirty-six hours continuously. This acted adversely on his health.

In 1931, Dr. Agrawala joined the Mathura Museum as its Curator. In 1940, he became Curator of the State Museum, Lucknow. In 1946, he took charge of the Central Asian Antiquities Museum at New Delhi as Superintendent for Museums in the Archaeological Survey of India. In 1951, he joined the Banaras Hindu University as Professor and Head of the Department of Art and Architecture. His

efforts enriched the Mathura Museum, and acquainted the people with the art of Mathura, in the study of which, he included the terracottas. His *Catalogue of the Mathura Museum* bears witness to his laborious and scientific study of the antiquities. The addition of a terracotta gallery in the Lucknow Museum goes to his credit. While at New Delhi, he organised an exhibition of select Indian antiquities from different museums of the country, which finally proved to be the nucleus of the present National Museum. A number of institutions owe their origin or growth to him, some of them being the Braja Sahitya Parishad, Museums Association of India, Hindi Janapadiya Parishad, Rajasthan Vaidik Shodh Samsthan, Parshvanath Vidyashram Shodh Samsthan, Prakrit Text Society, etc.

He was a respected teacher and an able research guide. He was approached by various Research Scholars working on different topics, for his knowledge of Indological subjects was almost encyclopaedic and memory very sharp. He was not only a very sound scholar of Sanskrit, but had knowledge of ancient Indian literature as well as various modern dialects of India. Later in life, he became engrossed with Vedic studies. His earlier love and regard for the Vedas was greatly intensified and progressively increased after his contact with the famous traditional Vedic scholar Pandit Madhusudan Ojha of Rajasthan. His interpretations of the Vedic hymns are novel.

Besides his own contributions, he also ably edited a number of journals such as the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, *Purāṇam* (All-India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi), *Bhāratī* (Banaras Hindu University), *Journal of the Museums Association of India*, *Janapada*, *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, etc. He was also editor of the Prakrit Text Society Series, Nepal Endowment Sanskrit Series, Hindu Vishvavidyalaya Sanskrit Publications Board Series, and Indian Civilization Series. A few commemorative volumes also go his credit. He has, moreover, written scholarly introductions to a number of works on various subjects and contributed the sections on Art in *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age* (ed. Majumdar and Altekar) and a few other volumes of the kind. His reviews are frank yet polite, and full of constructive discussions and original suggestions.

He was first moved by the aesthetic qualities of sculpture and later fascinated by its symbolism, the change being due to his Vedic studies. He felt that both literature and art alike represent conceptions realised or inherited by contemporary society and therefore one can be studied with advantage with the help of the other. He was equally interested in Indian folk art, literature and religion. His work in this direction is embodied in the *Janapada*, a journal devoted to Hindi folklore, and *Bhāratīya Lokadharma*.

He wrote both in English and in Hindi. His writings are marked by precision and clarity. He translated into Hindi a few works including R. K. Mookerji's *Hindu Civilization*.

His valuable work brought him due recognition. He was elected President of the All-India Museums Association at Patna (1946) and Ahmedabad (1954), the Bhāratīya Braja Sāhitya Maṇḍala at Saharanpur (1949), the Numismatic Society of India at Nagpur (1950), the Veda Sammelana (1959), Ancient India Section of the Indian History Congress at Cuttack (1959), Fine Arts and Archaeology Section of the All-India Oriental Conference at Bombay and the All-India Oriental Conference at Gauhati (1964). He delivered the Convocation Address at the Bombay Hindi Vidyapith (1947).

His contributions form a vast literature. A list of his published works excluding the innumerable articles published in journals is given below.

I. Commentaries and Studies. 1. *Meghdūt—Ek Adhyayan* (Hindi), 1st ed., Rajkamal Prakashan (P) Ltd., Delhi, 1953. 2. *India as known to Pāṇini* (Dr. R. K. Mookerji Endowment Lectures for 1952), 1st ed., Lucknow University, 1953; 2nd ed., Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1963. 3. *Pāṇini Kālīn Bhāratvarṣ* (Hindi), 1st ed., Motilal Banarsidass, Varanasi, Vikrama Saṁvat 2012. 4. *Harṣcarit—Ek Sāṁskṛtik Adhyayan* (Hindi), Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad, Patna. 1st ed., V. S. 2010; 2nd ed., 1964. 5. *Padmāvat—Sañjīvanī Vyākhyā* (Hindi), Sāhitya Sadan, Chirgaon, Jhansi, 1st ed., V.S. 2012; 2nd ed., 2018. 6. *Kādambarī—Ek Sāṁskṛtik Adhyayan* (Hindi), 1st ed., Chaukhamba Vidya Bhavan, Chawk, Varanasi, V.S. 2014. 7. *Bhārat Sāvitrī* (Hindi): A Cultural Commentary on the *Mahābhārat*, 1st ed., Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi, Vol. 1, 1957; Vol. II, 1964; Vol. III, under print. 8. *Mārkaṇḍey Purāṇ—Ek Sāṁskṛtik Adhyayan* (Hindi), 1st ed., Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1961. 9. *Kīrtilatā of Vidyāpati—Sañjīvanī Vyākhyā* (Hindi), 1st ed., Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon, Jhansi, 1962. 10. *Devī Māhātmyam—Glorification of the Great Goddess*, 1st ed., All-India Kashiraj Trust, Ramnagar, Varanasi, 1963. 11. *Matsya Purāṇa—A Study*, 1st ed., All-India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi, 1963. 12. *Solar Symbolism of the Boar*, 1st ed., Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1963. 13. *Hymn of Creation* (*Nāsadīya Sūkta*), 1st ed., Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1963. 14. *Gotras in Pāṇini*, 1st ed., Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi 1963. 15. *Gītā Navanīt* (Hindi): Cultural Commentary of the *Gītā* with Text, Translation and Introduction, 1st ed., Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1964. 16. *Vāmana Purāṇa—A Study*, 1st ed., Prithivi Prakashan, Vananasi, 1964. 17. *Chandasvatī Vāk*, 1st ed., Banaras Hindu University, 1964. 18. *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha—a Study*, 1st ed., Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi, under print.

II. Texts edited with Introduction, Translations and Annotations. 19. *Paippalāda Saṁhitā* (a selection of hymns—in collaboration with Pt. Ramadatta Shukla), 1st ed., 1937. 20. Hindi version of the above, V.S. 1994. 21. *Gāyatrī Upaniṣad* (in collaboration with Pt. Ramadatta Shukla), 1st ed., V.S. 1998. 22. *Śṛṅgār Hāṭ* (*Caturbhāṇī*) (Hindi—in collaboration with Dr. Moti Chandra), Hindi Grantha Ratnakar, Bombay, 1959. 23. *Nal-daman of Sūrdās* (Hindi—in collaboration with Pt. Daulat Ram Juyal), 1st ed., K. M. Munshi Hindi Vidyapeeth, Agra, 1961. 24. *Brahmasiddhānta of Pt. Madhusudan Ojha,* 1st ed., Banaras Hindu University Sanskrit Publications Board, 1961. 25. *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā* (Critical text by Belvalkar), 1st ed., Banaras Hindu University Publications Board, 1962. 26. *Vision in Long Darkness* (*Asyavāmīya* Hymn of Ṛṣi Dīrghatamas), 1st ed., Veda Academy, Varanasi, 1963. 27. *Brahmavinaya* (Sanskrit Text by Late Pt. Madhusudan Ojha), 1st ed., Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1964. 28. *Divyāvadāna,* Devanāgarī edition of the text, with an English Introduction, notes and appendices, Banaras Hindu University Publications Board, 1966.

III. Collection of Papers. 29. *Urujyoti* (Hindi—articles on Vedic subjects), 1st ed., Ramlal Kapoor Trust, Amritsar, 1953. 30. *Pṛthivī Putr* (Hindi—articles on folklore), 1st ed., Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi, 1949; 2nd ed., Ramprasad & Sons, Agra, 1960. 31. *Kalā aur Saṁskṛti* (Hindi), Sahitya Bhavan Ltd., Allahabad, 1st ed., 1952; 2nd ed. 32. *Kalp Vṛkṣ* (Hindi), 1st ed., Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi, 1953. 33. *Mātā Bhūmi* (Hindi), 1st ed., Chetana Prakashan Ltd., Hyderabad, 1953. 34. *Ved Vidyā* (Hindi), 1st ed., Ramprasad & Sons, Agra, 1959. 35. *Sparks from the Vedic Fire,* 1st ed., School of Vedic Studies, Varanasi, 1962. 36. *Ved Raśmi* (Hindi), 1st ed., Svadhyay Mandal, Pardi, Dist. Surat, 1954. 37. *Sunahle Haṁs* (Hindi—collection of short stories), 1st ed., Vishvavidyalay Prakashan, Kal Bhairav, Varanasi, 1954. 38. *Studies in Indian Art,* 1st ed., Vishvavidyalay Prakashan, Varanasi, 1965. 39. *Evolution of Hindu Temples and Other Essays,* 1st ed., Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1966.

IV. On Indian Art. 40. *Handbook of the Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra,* U.P. Government, 2nd ed., 1939. 41. *Gupta Art,* 1st ed., U.P. Historical Society, Lucknow, 1947. 42. *Indian Art through the Ages* (anonymously published), Publications Division, Government of India, Delhi. 43. *Exhibition of Indian Art* (Catalogue), Department of Archaeology, New Delhi, 1948. 44. *Exhibition of Indian Art—Album* (published anonymously), Department of Archaeology, New Delhi, 1948. 45. *Bhāratīy Kalā kā Siṁhāvlokan* (Hindi—published anonymously), Department of Archaeology, New Delhi, 1948. 46. *Mathura Museum Catalogue*

(published originally in the *JUPHS*, Lucknow), Vol. I—Buddha and Bodhisattva Images in the Mathura Museum; Vol. II—Brahmanical Images in the Mathura Art; Vol. III—Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Images in the Mathura Museum; Vol. IV—Architectural Pieces in the Mathura Museum. 47. *Sarnath* (a Guide Book), 1st ed., Department of Archaeology, New Delhi, 1956. 48. Hindi version of the above. 49. *Indian Mineatures—an Album*, 1st ed., Department of Archaeology, New Delhi, 1961. 50. *Cakradhvaja or the Wheel Flag of India*, 1st ed., Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1964. 51. *Heritage of Indian Art—an Album*, 1st ed., Publications Division, Delhi, 1964. 52. *Masterpieces of Mathura Sculpture*, 1st ed., Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1965. 53. *Indian Art*, 1st ed., Vol. I, Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1965. 54. *Mathurā Kalā* (Hindi), 1st ed., Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1965. 55. *Bhāratīy Kalā* (Hindi), 1st ed., Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1966.

V. On the Vedas, Sanskrit and Philosophy. 56 *A Clue to the Understanding of the Arya Samaj*, 1st ed., Secretary, Arya Samaj, B.H.U., 1927. 57. *Mātṛ Bhūmi* (Hindi), 1st ed., Kamla Publishing House, Meerut, V.S. 1935, 58. *Bhārat kī Maulik Ektā* (Hindi), 1st ed., Bharati Bhandar, Leader Press, Allahabad, V.S. 1954. 59. *Pṛthivī Sūkta—Ek Adhyayan* (Hindi), 1st ed., Svadhyay Mandal, Pardi, 1963. 60. *Vedic Lectures* (May-June 1960), 1st ed., Director, School of Vedic Studies, B.H.U., Varanasi, 1963. 61. *Upaniṣad Navnīt* (Gujarati), Balgovind Prakashan, Ahmedabad. The original Hindi version is in the Press. 62. *Harṣcarit Kathāsār* (Hindi), Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. 63. *Rāvaṇ Vadh—Kathāsār* (Hindi), Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. 64. *Buddhacarit—Kathāsār* (Hindi), Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. 65. *Saundarananda—Kathāsār* (Hindi), Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. 66. *Prācīn Bhāratīy Lok Dharm* (Hindi, Gujarati), 1st ed., Jnanodaya Trust, Ahmedabad, 1964. 67. *Pāṇini Paricay* (Hindi), 1st ed., Madhya Pradesh Shasan Sahitya Parishad, Bhopal, 1965. 68. *Śiva Mahādeva—The Great God*, 1st ed., Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1966.

VI. Translated from English. 69. *Hindū Sabhyatā* (Hindi trans. of R. K. Mookerji's *Hindu Civilisation*), Rajkamal Prakashan, Delhi. 70. *Brāratīya Purātattva* (Hindi trans. of *Indian Archaeology*, in collaboration with Pt. Kedarnath Sastri), Vol I, 1st ed., Department of Archaeology, New Delhi, 1959. 71. *Nirog Rahne kā Saccā Upāy* (Hindi trans. of Mac Feodor's book), 1st ed., Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi, 1961.

VII. Edited. 72. *Vikramāṅk* (Hindi—Vikram issue of the *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*), Varanasi, V.S. 2000. 73. *Bhārata Kaumudī* (Studies in Indology in honour of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji), Lucknow, 2 Vols., 1st ed., 1945-46. 74. *Poddār Abhinandan Granth*

(Hindi), Akhil Bhāratīya Braja Sāhitya Maṇḍala, Mathurā, V.S. 2010. 75. *The Song Celestial*, Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi. 75. *The Cloud Messenger*. Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi. 77. *Premī Abhinandan Granth* (Hindi), 2 Vols. 78. *Maithilī Śaraṇ Gupt Abhinandan Granth* (Hindi). 79. *Mālavīyajī ke Lekh aur Bhāṣaṇ* (Hindi), Akhil Bhāratīya Mālavīyajī Janmaśatī Samāroha Samiti, B.H.U., 1962.

L. K. TRIPATHI

B. C. Law

(1891-1969)

Bimala Churn Law (Vimalā-Caraṇa Lāhā) was born on the 26th October, 1891, in the celebrated Law family of Calcutta. With his death on the 3rd May, 1969, at the age of 78, India has not only lost one of the most prolific writers on Indological subjects, but also a businessman of great munificence. He was unlike most of our rich men, and his death has created a void which is difficult to fill up.

Bimala Churn was the youngest son of Ambica Churn Law and the grandson of Jay Gobind Law, C.I.E. He was educated at the Presidency College (Calcutta) and the University of Calcutta. He graduated in 1914 with Honours in Pali and two years later (1916) passed the M.A. Examination in Pali (including Buddhist Sanskrit, Epigraphy and Palaeography), standing first in Class I. He also graduated in Law. In 1924, Bimala Churn was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) of the University of Calcutta, in Ancient Indian History and Culture, and was also awarded the University's Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Gold Medal. Later he obtained the Griffith Prize of Calcutta University and the D.Litt. degree and the Bonarjee Research Prize of the University of Lucknow. The Vidyālaṅkāra Pariveṇa of Ceylon honoured Dr. Law by conferring on him the title of *Buddhāgamasiromaṇi*.

Dr. Law was a scholar, landlord and business man and above all a philanthropist. He was naturally associated with a large number of institutions, many of which are learned bodies. He was Honorary Member of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona), the Ganganath Jha Research Institute (Allahabad) and the Calcutta Geographical Society. He was an Honorary Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and an Honorary Correspondent of the Archaeological Survey of India. Among the institutions of Calcutta with which he was associated, mention may be made of the Prācya Vāṇī Mandir, Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, Indian Science News Association, Indian

Research Institute, Indian Society of Oriental Art, etc., as well as of the British Indian Association, City Athletic Club, Automobile Association of Bengal, Calcutta War Committee, National Defence and Savings Week Committee, General Committee of the Silver Jubilee Fund of King George V, General Committee of the Red Cross Society and St. John Ambulance Association, Executive Committee of the Medical College Centenary, All-Bengal Central Flood Relief Committee, etc. Among institutions outside Calcutta, Dr. Law was associated, besides those mentioned above, with the Buddha Society (Bombay), Visva-Bharati (Santiniketan), Numismatic Society of India (Varanasi), Royal Asiatic Society (London), Royal Geographical Society (London), Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, American Oriental Society, Bombay Historical Society, etc.

Dr. Law is the reputed author of a large number of books—big and small—on various branches of Indology such as Buddhism, Jainism, and Ancient Indian History and Geograpty. The long list of his works include—(1) *Kṣatriya Clans in Buddhist India*, (2) *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, (3) *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, (4) *Ancient Indian Tribes*, Vols. I and II, (5) *Tribes in Ancient India*, (6) *India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, (7) *The Magadhas in Ancient India*, (8) *Śrāvasti in Indian Literature* (ASI Mem., No. 50), (9) *Rājagṛha in Ancient Literature* (Do., No. 58), (10) *Kauśāmbī in Ancient Literature* (Do., No. 60); (11) *The Pañcālas and their Capital Ahicchatra* (Do., No. 68), (12) *Ujjayinī in Ancient India* (Arch. Dept., Gwalior), (13) *Geography of Early Buddhism*, (14) *Geographical Essays*, Vol. I, (15) *Holy Places of India*, (16) *Rivers of India*, (17) *Mountains of India*, (18) *Mahāvīra: His Life and Teachings*, (19) *History of Pali Literature*, Vols. I and II, (20) *Life and Work of Buddhaghoṣa*, (21) *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, (22) *The Buddhist Conception of Spirits*, (23) *Women in Buddhist Literature*, (24) *Concepts of Buddhism*, (25) *A Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions (Saddhamasaṅgraha)*, (26) *Designation of Human Types*, (27) *The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon*, Part III—*Buddhavaṁsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, (28) *Thūpavaṁsa*, (29) *Dāṭhāvaṁsa*, (30) *Cariyāpiṭaka*, etc. His *Law of Gift in British India* is a different type of work. Dr. Law edited the *Buddhistic Studies*, and the *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume* as well as the quarterly journal entitled *Indian Culture*. His Bengali works include—(1) *Gautama Buddha*, (2) *Licchavi Jāti*, (3) *Pretatattva*, (4) *Bauddharamaṇī*, (5) *Buddhayuger Bhūgol*, (6) *Jainaguru Mahāvīr*, (7) *Bhārater Puṇyatīrtha*, (8) *Saundarananda-kāvya*, etc. Besides, Dr. Law also published more than 200 papers and notes in various special publications and learned periodicals.

Dr. Law was pertner of Messrs. Prawn Kishen Law & Co., one of the oldest trading houses of Calcutta. He was a Zamindar of

Bengal and a landholder of Calcutta, an Advocate of Calcutta High Court, a Justice of the Peace, and a Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta He was a Free Mason and was elevated to the rank of the Mark Master Mason. Dr. Law was recipient of the Silver Jubilee Medal (1935) and the Coronation Medal (1937) as personal souvenirs from His Majesty the King Emperor of India.

Dr. Law was famous for his charities and largeheartedness. His benefactions covered a wide range of humanitarian purposes, because he always responded to the call of suffering humanity and was often inspired by idealism. A number of scholars were benefited by his munificence. Funds started for the relief of distress caused by earthquake, cyclone, flood or famine generally received liberal contributions from him. Besides endowing beds at hospitals, Dr. Law made substantial contributions towards the construction of the Anderson Casualty Block at the Calcutta Medical College and the King Emperor's Anti-Tuberculosis Fund in Bengal. His charities were directed to public works of utility and cultural and social purposes such as waterworks, scheme of afforestation, supply of stud-bulls, free distribution of books to children, athletic clubs and libraries. During World War II, Dr. Law paid *inter alia* Rs. 20,000 to the Indian Red Cross Society and the St. John Ambulance Association. His endowments in favour of educational institutions amount to more than Rs. 50,000; e.g, (1) Calcutta Medical College—Rs. 10,500, (2) Bengal Engineering College, Sibpur—Rs. 16,700, (3) Presidency College (Calcutta)—Rs. 8,000, (4) Government Commercial Institute (Calcutta)—Rs. 4,500, (5) Bethune College (Calcutta)—Rs. 6,000, (6) Cambell Medical College (Calcutta)—Rs. 4,500, etc. Some other donations of Dr. Law are the following—(1) The Asiatic Society (Calcutta) for instituting the B. C. Law and J. N. Sarkar Gold Medals and publishing popular lectures—Rs. 19,000, (2) Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science (Calcutta) for instituting the B. C. Law Gold Medal and for its Research Fund—Rs. 7,500, (3) Indian Science News Association—Rs. 1,000, (4) Calcutta University for an electron microscope—Rs. 7,000, (5) Rabindra Samiti (Calcutta)—Rs. 3,000, (6) Saratchandra Chatterjee Building Fund—Rs. 5,000, (7) Daulatpur College of Agriculture and Industries—recurring annual grant of Rs. 1,500, (8) Asutosh College (Calcutta)—Rs. 5,000, (9) Chittaranjan Seva Sadan (Calcutta)—Rs. 5,000, (10) Dufferin Hospital (Calcutta)—Rs. 4,000, (11) Chittaranjan Hospital (Calcutta)—Rs. 5,500, (12) Calcutta Homœopathic College—Rs. 2,500, (13) Kern Institute (Leiden, Holland)—Rs. 5,500, (14) Indian Research Institute (Calcutta) for its journal entitled *Indian Culture*—Rs. 40,000, (15) Lucknow University for the R. K. Mookerji Lectureship—Rs. 5,500, (16) Ganganath Jha Research Institute (Allahabad)—Rs. 1,000,

(17) Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society—Rs. 3,000, (18) Royal Asiatic Society (London)—Rs. 12,000, etc.

Dr. Law shunned publicity. On occasions when he was elected Sectional President of the All-India Oriental Conference or the Indian History Congress, he declined to attend the sessions. He did not usually attend the sessions of such institutions.

Two Parts of the B. C. Law Volume, edited by D. R. Bhandarkar and others (Part I, Calcutta, 1945, and Part II, Poona, 1946) were presented to Dr. Law on the completion of his 55th year on the 25th October, 1946.

D. C. Sircar

Bimanbehari Majumdar

(1899-1969)

Dr. Bimanbehari Majumdar was born in the house of his maternal grandfather at Nabadwip (Nadia District, West Bengal) on the 21st December, 1899, at 11.54 P.M. His great-grandfather Dipchandra was a rich landlord of Kumarkhali in the then Nadia District. His grandfather Ramgati lost a huge fortune of his ancestral property due to failure in business. The downward trend in the fortunes of the Majumdar family continued in the time of his father Srischandra. But by marrying Krishnapriya, the only daughter of Advaita Das Pandit Babaji (originally Brajakisore Rakshit), Srischandra brought fortune in another way. Advaita Das was a famous Vaiṣṇava scholar and evolved a new school of Classical devotional music in Bengal. Bimanbehari owed his spiritual inclination and devotion to Vaiṣṇava faith and movement to his mother and maternal grandfather.

Bimanbehari, the eldest son of Srischandra and Krishnapriya received his early education in the *pāṭhśālā* of his ancestral village, Osmanpur, and a school at Jangipur, a mile and a half from Osmanpur (in Kushthia, now in East Pakistan). When his parents left Osmanpur and settled at Nabadwip in 1912, he was admitted in the Hindu School of this place. He passed the Entrance Examination in 1917 as a student of that school, in the First Division. He passed the B.A. examination, with Honours in History, in the First Class, in 1921 from the Krishnanath College, Berhampore (Murshidabad District, West Bengal). In 1923, he passed the M.A. examination in History from Calcutta University in the First Class, standing second in order of merit. He also took his M.A. degree in Economics from the same University in 1929. He was awarded the Premchand Roychand Studentship in 1932, Mouat Medal in 1934 and Griffith Memorial Prize in 1935. In 1935, he was also awarded the Ph.D. degree of

Calcutta University for his thesis entitled *Caitanyacariter Upādān.* It was the first Ph.D. thesis written in Bengali or, for that matter, in any regional language in India, and it was examined by Rabindranath Tagore, Sushilkumar De and Khagendranath Mitra.

Bimanbehari started writing articles since he was sixteen. His first article on Vaiṣṇavism appeared in the *Viṣṇupriyā*, a journal published by the Amrita Bazar Patrika authorities. His mind and style of writing were fashioned primarily by Surendranath Sankhyatirtha, a recluse, Saratchandra Goswami, a scholar, Haripada Pande and Nalinikanta Nag of the History Department, K. N. College (Berhampore), and Pramathanath Banerji who later on became the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University. Sarojranjan Bhattacharya, Asst. Headmaster, Hindu School, Nabadwip, unfolded his talent at the school stage. Even to the last day of his life, Dr. Majumdar was conscious of all that he owed to his teachers, who in turn looked upon him as their own son. Coming under the influence of Surendranath Sankhyatirtha, he gave up wearing shoes in his school days. When he went to appear at the Entrance Examination, R. N. Gilchrist, Principal and Centre-Superintendent of the Krishnagar College, refused to allow him to enter the Examination Hall barefooted. Bimanbehari had to yield to the dictates of Mr. Gilchrist. He did not protest when his teacher, Pramathanath Banerji cut off his pigtail and tore off the *tulasī-mālā* round his neck, after his M.A. examination. Banerji told him, "Biman, you will have to serve the society in a different way. Lead a healthy and natural life." The pupil ungrudingly accepted the logic of his teacher.

Dr. Majumdar began his professional career as a research associate of Nagendranath Vasu, the famous editor of the *Viśvakośa*, a Bengali encyclopaedia. But, in 1924, he became a Lecturer in History in the K. C. College, Hetampur, which he left for joining the Bihar National College, Patna, in 1925, and became the Head of the Department of Economics of the latter in 1930. Dr. Majumdar became the Principal of the H. D. Jain College, Arrah, and the transformation of the small college to the huge institution of today is ample proof of his organising ability. He became the first Inspector of Colleges, Bihar University, in 1952, and retired from this post in 1959. Re-employed six year later under the University Grants Commission's scheme of utilisation of the services of retired teachers, he began to take classes in the Post-Graduate Department of History, Patna University, and continued to do so till his death.

In 1951, Bimanbehari was elected President of the Indian Political Association and presided over the 14th session of the Indian Political Science Conference at Hyderabad. He was Vice-President of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat from 1961 to 1963. He delivered three lectures on 'Vidyāpati's Mind and Art' as Khaitan Lecturer of

Calcutta University (1953), three lectures on 'Balarāmadāsa, Jñānadāsa and Govindadāsa' at Visva-Bharati University (1963), three lectures on 'Social and Political Ideas of Vivekānanda and Nīveditā' as Nivedita Lecturer of Calcutta University (1964), lectures on 'Militant Nationalism in India' at the Politics Department of Bombay University (1965), the Yogīndramohinī Lectures on 'Heorines of Tagore' at Calcutta University (1967), six lectures on 'Kṛṣṇa in History and Legend' at the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta Universtty (1967), and Extension Lectures on 'Evolution of the Indian Society in the 19th Century' at Jammu and Kashmir University (1968), and the eight Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectures on 'Religion of Love' at Calcutta University (1969).

Dr. Majumdar's service to the community in general includes his work as President of the Baṅgīya Kāyastha Samāj and of the Bengalee Association, Bihar. It was due to a combination of scholarship and religiosity that he held a venerable position in the Vaiṣṇava community. He was the first householder to be elected President of the Board of Trustees of the Manohar Ashram at Govindakuṇḍa. He was requested to accept the Mahantahood of the Rādhākuṇḍa temple at Vrindavana. He however declined that honour on grounds of health. He created a number of endowments for Vaiṣṇavas at Nabadwip and Vrindavana.

Strong determination contributed much to Bimanbehari's giving up old habits at the dictates of necessity. When he suffered from heart disease for the first time in 1956, he gave up smoking and tea and became a strict vegetarian. Prior to that year, he used to smoke 30 cigarettes along with cigars and *hookah* and drink at least ten cups of tea a day. Idleness and procrastination were alien to his nature. He used to get up at 4 in the morning and retire to bed at 10 P.M.

Dr. Majumdar married Suchitra, youngest daughter of Kunjalal Chaudhuri, a leading lawyer of Chaudanga (now in East Pakistan) and sister of Dr. Rabindranath Chaudhuri, M.Sc., Ph.D. Three sons and two daughters were born to them. When he died on the 18th November, 1969, he left behind him his wife and the five children.

Dr. Majumdar's scholarly works include the following—(1) *History of Religious Reformation in India in the 19th century*, (2) *History of Political Thought from Rammohan to Dayananda*, Vol. I, (3) *Caitanya-cariter Upādān*, (4) *Vidyāpati* (jointly with Khagendranath Mitra), (5) *Civic Life of Bihar*, (6) *Problems of Public Administration in India* (ed.), (7) *Gandhian Concept of State* (ed.), (8) *Caṇḍīdāser Padāvalī*, (9) *Rabīndra Sāhitye Padāvalīr Sthān*, (10) *Ṣoḍaś Śatābdir Padāvalī Sāhitya*, (11) *Govindadāser Padāvalī O tānhār Yug*, (12) *Kṣaṇadāgītacintāmaṇi*, (13) *Jñānadāsa O tānhār Padāvalī*, (14) *Pāncśata Vatsarer Padāvalī*, (15) *Indian Political Association*

OFFICE OF THE ... 1 APR 1974

and Reform of Legislature, (16) *Militant Nationalism in India,* (17) *Śrikṛṣṇakarṇāmṛtam* (ed.), (18) *Congress and Congressmen in the Pre-Gandhian Era* (jointly with Bhakat Prasad Mazumdar), (19) *History of Indian Social and Political Ideas,* (20) *Heroines of Tagore,* (21) *Kṛṣṇa in History and Legend,* (22) *Gaurimaṅgala* (ed.), and (23) *Caitanyamaṅgala of Jayānanda* (ed).

B. P. MAZUMDAR

George Coedes

(1886?-1969)

Professor George Coedès, Member of the Institute, President of the Asiatic Society of Paris and Honorary Director of the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, passed away on the 1st of October, 1969. At the time of death he was about 84 years old. He had been ailing for about a year; but the death of his wife a few months earlier precipitated the crisis.

Professor Coedès is the last of the great Western scholars who, by their application and critical method, have brought South-East Asiatic studies to their present eminent height. Quite early in his life he was initiated into Sanskritic studies by the great French savant, Auguste Barth, known for his monumental work on the religions of India and his edition (in collaboration with Abel Bergaigne) of the Sanskrit inscriptions of Champa and Cambodia. But it was Sylvain Lévi who took an active interest in the formation of his career. The first fruit of the researches of Coedès was published in 1904 when, at the age of about 18, he edited two early inscriptions of Cambodia (*BEFEO*, Vol. IV, pp. 69-97) and successfully introduced king Bhavavarman II (Ś. 567=638 A.D.). Soon he established his reputation as an epigraphist by editing a number of important inscriptions. He also published his list of the inscriptions of Champa and Cambodia (*ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 37-92) and an alphabetical index of *Cambodge*, Vols. I-III (containing summary of the contents of Combodian inscriptions discovered upto 1904) by M. Aymonier (*Bulletin de la Comission Archéologique d'Indochine,* 1911, pp. 85-169).

For many years, Coedès was associated with the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient and posted in Cambodia. This provided him with an opportunity of mastering Khmer. With his study of the tradition of the Brārmaṇa Kauṇḍinya and the Nāgī Somā (*BEFEO*, Vol. XI, p. 391 ff.) started the series entitled *Études Cambodgiennes* which throws light on all aspects of Cambodian history. He laid emphasis-

on the fact that folklore and related ethnological data should be taken into consideration for the study of the history and civilisation of ancient Cambodia. The sacerdotal families of ancient Cambodia had mostly a matrilinear structure; but Coedès suggested that the families of Śivakaivalya and of Praṇavātman recognized consanguine relationship; that is to say that the men of these two families could marry simultaneously more than one wife belonging to different families.

As early as 1911, Coedès made a penetrating study of the question of deification of the kings, members of the aristocracy and the priestly community even during their life time. This explained the real nature of the Devarāja cult. He challenged Finot's theory that there was a unique idol of the Devarāja in whom resided the essence of royalty. Among his other writings on this subject, mention may be made of 'The Cult of Deified Royalty: Source of Inspiration of the Great Monuments of Ankor' (*Art and Letters*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 51-53), and his work entitled *Pour mieux comprendre Angkor* (1947). In 1910, Coedès published the 'Catalogue des pièces originales de sculpture Khmère conservées au Musée indochinois du Trocadéro et au Musée Guimet' (*BCAI*, 1910, pp. 19-62). Later he made a comprehensive study of the bronze sculptures of Cambodia ('Bronzes Khmers', *Ars Asiatica*, Vol. V, 1923). His dating of the monument of Bàyon to the reign period of Jayavarman VII has changed the whole chronogical structure of the history of art in Cambodia. He also suggested dates for the temples of Bantay Srei, Koḥ Ker, Baphuon and Takeo.

Under the editorship of Finot, the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres already published six volumes of plates of inscriptions found in Cambodia. But there was as yet no printed transcript of many of them. Coedès undertook the publication of these inscriptions in Sanskrit and old Khmer. Great perseverence and scholarship were exhibited by him in bringing out, in eight volumes, the critically edited texts and annotated translations of most of these inscriptions in a period of over thirty years (1936-67).

Coedès was conscious of the role of the pre-Indian autochthonous element in the evolution of the Classical Khmer civilization. To understand the inner significance of the happenings of Cambodia, he felt the necessity of studying the history of the countries adjacent to Cambodia and made valuable contributions to the study of the early history of Laos, Siam and Indonesia. In two volumes published in 1924 and 1929, he edited and translated the inscriptions of Siam. In 1925, he edited the three Pāli chronicles of Laos (*BEFEO*, Vol. XXV, pp. 1-200). Thus equipped, none was more competent than Coedès to write the history of the Indianized countries of Indochina and Indonesia (*Les États hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonesie*).

Great as a scholar, Coedès was greater as a man. I had the good fortune of working with him for five years. Almost every Saturday we used to discuss Cambodian inscriptions. Anybody having the slightest acquaintance with these inscriptions knows how difficult it is to translate and to interpret the texts, often fragmentary and otherwise rendered obscure. I cannot remember if he got annoyed even once when he was contradicted. On the contrary, he always gave me a patient hearing and whenever any new suggestion regarding the text or translation of any inscription appeared valid to him, even if it was only from the point of syntax, he used to write it down on the margin of his copy of the texts.

Coedès was mindful of the difficulty of his students and ready to help them, sometimes even without their asking for it. As for myself I have profited immensely from his generosity. His death thus comes to me as a personal loss. I express my deep sense of sorrow and convey my sincerest condolence to his daughter, Mrs. Plassaro, and other members of his bereaved family. May his soul rest in peace!

ADHIR K. CHAKRAVARTI

OUR DEPARTMENT

SESSION 1969-70

1. The number of students admitted to the First year M.A. Class, under the restricted admission scheme, is 45.

2. The number of candidates appearing at the M.A. Examination of 1969 is 160. The result of the previous year's Examination, and the names of the recipients of the Carmichael Professor's Prize for regular attendance for the last three years have already been mentioned above, Vol. II, p. 355.

3. The number of books added to the Departmental Library is 384 making a total of 4271. The number of copies of books and journals received free during 1969-70 in exchange for the Centre's publications and the *Journal of Ancient Indian History* (including books for review) are respectively 76 and 40 copies.

4. The four National Scholarships at the Centre, for the year, have been awarded to the following graduates—

Calcutta University—

(i) Sri Rajibkanti Sarmadhikari and

(ii) Sm. Suprabha Hazra

Other Universities—

(i) Sm. Uma Misra (Utkal University) and

(ii) Sm. Jharna Bhattacharya (Banaras Hindu University).

5. The two Research Scholarships at the Centre, for the year, have been awarded to the following—

Calcutta University—

Sm. Madhabi Bandyopadhyay, M.A.

Other Universities—

Sri Asok Kumar Jha, M.A. (Bhagalpur University).

6. The following have been appointed Junior Research Fellows at the Centre—

(i) Dr. Sm. Juthika Maitra, M.A., Ph.D. (Banaras Hindu University).

(ii) Sm. Kalyani Bajpeyi, M.A. (History—Jadavpur University, AIHC—Calcutta University).

7. The following have been admitted to the degree of D.Phil. in AIHC, Calcutta University—

(i) Sri Sarjug Prasad Singh, M.A. (Patna University), at first a Research Scholar and now a Junior Research Fellow at the Centre, in August, 1969, for his thesis entitled *Discovery of Early Coins in Bihar*.

(ii) Sri Sudhansusekhar Mukhopadhyay, M.A., in April, 1970, for his thesis entitled *Some Aspects of Early Indo-African Contacts*.

8. The following have submitted their theses for the degree of D.Phil. in AIHC, Calcutta University—

(i) Sri Chunilal Chakrabarti, M.A., a thesis entitled *The Historical Geography of Udicya or Uttarāpatha*.

(ii) Sri Amalendu Sarkar, M.A., a thesis entitled *Śiva in Medieval Indian Literature*.

(iii) Sri Dipakchandra Bhattacharya, M.A., a thesis entitled *Studies in Buddhist Iconography in Eastern India*.

(iv) Sm. Rama Chattopadhyay, M.A., a thesis entitled *Religion in Bengal during Pāla and Sena Times*.

(v) Sri Pritimadhab Ray, M.A., a thesis entitled *Origin of Śaivism*.

Dr. Narendranath Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil., has submitted a thesis entitled *History of Indian Cosmogonical Ideas* for the D.Litt. degree.

9. Six lectures were delivered at the Centre, the names of the lecturers and the subjects on which they spoke respectively being as follows :

(i) Prof. L. Rocher (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, U.S.A.)—'Ancient India as reflected in the Works of the Greeks and Romans'.

(ii) Dr. Mrs. R. Rocher (National Foundation for Scientific Research, Belgium)—'N. B. Halhed, an Early Student of Indian Culture'.

(iii) Dr. I. W. Mabbett (Monash University, Australia)—'The Interpretation of Ancient Indian Historical Sources'.

(iv) Prof. A. L. Basham (Australian National University, Canberra)—'Secular Element in Ancient Indian Life'.

(v) Prof. T. V. Mahalingam (University of Madras)—'Recent Archaeological Trends in South India'.

(vi) Prof. L. Rocher (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, U.S.A.)—'Continuity and Change in the History of Hindu Institutions: The Case of Hindu Law'.

The summaries of and discussions on these lectures are being published in Vols. III and IV of the Journal (see above, pp. 248 ff.).

10. The annual series of two days' Inter-University Seminars on (I) 'Early Indigenous Coins', and (II) 'Social Life of Ancient India', were held at the Centre on the 26th and 27th February, 1970. Sixteen papers were received on the first subject and twenty on the second. The seminars were well attended. Besides scholars pertaining to the University of Calcutta and other local institutions, representatives of the following universities attended them: Banaras, Gauhati, Gorakhpur, Jadavpur, Lucknow, Madras, Nagpur and Poona and also Pennsylvania (U.S.A). The proceedings of the seminars will be published in the near future.

1. Nine Monthly Seminars were held at the Centre, in which 41 papers were read and discussed and a number of topics were raised for discussion and several obituary notes presented. The proceedings of most of these Seminars have been incorporated in the present Volume of the Journal (pp. 273 ff.).

12. The following books have been published during the session—

(i) *Landlordism and Tenancy in Ancient and Medieval India as revealed by Epigraphical Records* (Dr. R. K. Mookerji Endowment Lectures delivered at Lucknow University) by Prof. D. C. Sircar, published by the University of Lucknow, Lucknow, 1969;

(ii) *Prācyavidyā-taraṅgiṇī* (Golden Jubilee Volume of the Department of AIHC, Calcutta University), edited by Prof. D. C. Sircar, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, 1969;

(iii) *Bhakti Cult and Ancient Indian Geography* (Proceedings of the 4th series of Inter-University Seminars held at the Centre in February, 1968) edited by Prof. D. C. Sircar, Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC, University of Calcutta, 1970.

(iv) *Foreigners in Ancient India and Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī in Art and Literature* (Proceedings of the 5th Series of Inter-University Seminars held at the Centre in February, 1969) edited by Prof. D. C. Sircar, Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC, University of Calcutta, 1970;

(v) *Some Problems of Kuṣāṇa and Rājpūt History* by Prof. D. C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1969.

13. (i) Prof. D. C. Sircar, Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department and Director, Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, attended the Golden Jubilee Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Jadavpur University in October 1969. He was elected General President of the forthcoming session of the All-India Oriental Conference to be held at Vikram University, Ujjain, in 1971.

(ii) Dr. K. K. Ganguly, Reader in the Department, visited Poland in November, 1969, and delivered lectures at Warsaw University and the Warsaw Institute of Art on 'Indian Folk Art' and 'Indian Art' respectively. He also delivered a lecture on 'Art and Museum in India' at the National Museum, New Delhi, in March, 1970. Dr. Ganguly was elected President of the forthcoming session of the Museums Association of India.

(iii) Dr. A N. Lahiri, Reader in the Department, attended, as delegate of the University, the Annual Conference and Seminar of the Numismatic Society of India held at Patna University in October, 1969, and the Annual Session of the Indian History Congress held at the Banaras Hindu University in December, 1969. He was elected Vice-Chairman of the Numismatic Society of India and President of the same society for its Madras session to be held in October, 1971.

(iv) Dr. K. K. Dasgupta, Lecturer in the Department, attended the Annual Session of the Indian History Congress held at the Banaras Hindu University and of the Institute of Historical Studies at Bangalore University. He was elected the Library-Secretary the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

(v) Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, Senior Research Fellow at the Centre, attended the 58th Annual Conference and Seminar of the Numismatic Society of India held at Patna University as a delegate of the Centre. He also attended the Annual Conference and Seminar of the Archaeological Society of India, held at the same University, in October, 1969.

(vi) Dr. A. K. Chattopadhyay, Junior Research Fellow at the Centre, attended the Annual Conference of the Institute of Historical Studies held at Bangalore in November, 1969.

(vii) Dr. Sarjug Prasad Singh, Junior Research Fellow at the Centre, attended the Annual Conference and Seminar of the Nnmismatic Society of India held at Patna University in October, 1969.

13. Exchange relations of the publications of our Centre have been established during the year with the following institution—Institut Francaise, Pondichery. The *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute,* Allahabad, established exchange relations with our *Journal.*

14. About our *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Dr. W. D. O' Flaherty writes as follows in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1969), University of London—"a first class journal is always welcome......Prof. D. C. Sircar has written two articles....that are up to his usual high standard. Dr. R. C. Majumdar's surveys....are most interesting. Other articles....stimulating points are raised....The quality and range of this journal make it worthy of the international repute of its predecessor (*IHQ*).... The book reviews are timely and pointed and a most useful service is performed by the translation and reprinting of now-classic articles otherwise available in....rare publications. In all, this is an extremly valuable periodical and it is off to a most auspicious start."

Sri P. R. Srinivasan, Superintending Epigraphist, Government of India, writes, "while its articles are of absorbing interest...., I am simply carried away by the proceedings of the Monthly Seminars on various topics, which are very very interesting....The subjects discussed at the seminars and the quality of observations of the participants are of a remarkably high order and, on top of it all, are your wonderful contributions as Chairman. I have not so far seen the like of such scholarly activity anywhere else......"

15. The M.A. course in Ancient Indian History and Culture having been introduced in the University of Calcutta in the year 1918, the Department celebrated its Golden Jubilee on completing half a century of its existence, on the 16th and 17th of August, 1969. Hon'ble Justice D. N. Sinha, then Acting Governor of West Bengal and Chancellor of the University, inagurated the celebrations which were attended by Dr. S. N. Sen, Vice-Chancellor, and Sri H. M. Majumdar, Pro-Vice-Chancellor (Business Affairs and Finance), Calcutta University, and a large number of distinguished old students and teachers of the Department including Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the famous historian, Sri B. N. Banerjee, retired Judge, Calcutta High Court, and Sri C. M. Sarkar then a member of the West Bengal Cabinet. A volume entitled *Prācyavidyā-taraṅgiṇī*, edited by Prof. D. C. Sircar, was released, and the students staged Sri Sailajananda Mukhopadhyay's *Bandī* under the direction of Dr. Samaresh Bandyopadhyay. Sri Dilipkumar Mandal and Sm. Mukti Ghosh were adjudged respectively the Best Actor and the Best Actress. The Folk Entertainment Section, Department of Information and Public Relations, Government of West Bengal, was kind enough to present, on the occasion free of charges, Rabindranath's dance-drama, *Citrāṅgadā*.

On a perusal of the *Prācyavidyā-taraṅgiṇī* (Golden Jublee Volume), Dr. R. C. Majumdar writes, "It not only contains some learned papers on Indology, but also a very useful and interesting account of the growth and development of the study of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the University of Calcutta. It is of special interest to me, as I was associated with the initial phase of its development at the early stage of my life. It reminds me of numerous old episodes and of colleagues and friends, many of whom are no longer in the land of living. It was a very happy idea of yours to include in it short biographies of old teachers in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture and also brief sketches of the careers of some of the prominent past students of the Department."

INDEX

Abdul-but 54-55
Ābhassara-world 110-12
Abhayagirivāsin 314
abhaya-mudrā 157-58, 160, 167n, 170
Abhayeśvarī 302
Abhidhamma 315
Abhidharmakośavyākhyā 315
Abhimanyu 161
Abhiniṣkramaṇa Sūtra 187
Ābhīra 298
Abhiṣeka-nāṭaka 181
Ācārya 106, 117, 131, 187
Acchavanta 209n
Achaemenian dynasty 242, 250, 282
Acintyabhedābheda 316
Adarpa 186
Adbhutasāgara 305
Adhvaryu 263
Adiceam, M. E. 324
Aditi 102
Adittanallur 70
Ādityasena 148, 281
Ādivarāha-dramma 285
Advait-ācārya 317
Advayavajrasaṁgraha 100
Afghanistan 128
Agartala 28, 296
Agni 51, 259, 263, 273
Agnimitra 103n
Agni Purāṇa 123n, 124n, 291
Agra 344
agrahāra 137
Agrawal, Jagannath 101
Agrawal, Prithvi Kumar 318
Agrawala, R. C. 164, 325, 333-34
Agrawala, V. S. 163 and n, 164, 260, 341
Ahalyā 259, 285
Ahar 19n
Ahicchatra 347
Ahmed, Nazimuddin 330
Ahmed, Wakil 329
Ahmedabad 141, 311, 343
Ahraura 247, 298; *inscription* 298
Aihole inscription 72
Aindrī 169-71
Aira (Ārya) 33
Airāvata 124
Aithal, K. P. 323
Aiyangar, Rangaswami 304
Aja 191
Ajanta 166n, 239, 245
Ajātaśatru 183n, 187-92, 314
Ajay valley 297
Ājīvaka 66
Ājuna 209n
Āka 19n
Akbar 181
Aklujkar, A. 329
Akṣatacandra 184
Akṣobhya 37n, 99
Alai 126
Alakā 236
Ālambyāyana 263
alaṅkāra 198, 206, 209, 219
Alaṅkāra-śāstra 206, 209, 220
'Alā-uddīn Khaljī 77, 79
Al-Bīrūnī 37, 127, 246
Alexander 250
Ali, Mehrab 329
Ali, Muzafar 126
Allahabad 18, 133, 198, 272, 343-46, 348, 358; *praśasti* 198, 229, 272
Allan, J. 257
Allchin, Bridges 332
Altekar, A. S. 18n, 19n, 145n, 146n, 342
Amarāvatī 240
Amareśvara temple 268
Amazons 236

Ambarīṣa 216
Ambastai (Ambaṣṭha) 259
Ambaṣṭha 250, 259
America 126n
Amitābha 37n, 43, 48-49
Amiya-Nimāicarit 325
Amoghasiddhi 37n
Amoghavairocana 47
Amoghavajra 38
Amoghavarṣa I 73, 299
Āmrapāla 184
Amritsar 344
Amṛta 266, 285
Aṁśumadbhedāgama 170
Ānanda 62, 64-65, 188-90
Ānanda-gotra 263
Ānandatīrtha 75-76
Anaṅgabhīma III 75
Ananta 236
Anantamāṇikya 26-28, 283
Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga 75n
Ananyananda, Swami 324
Ānarta country 195n
Ānarta people 258
An Ch'ih-lin 44
Anderson 348
Andhaka people 143
Aṅga 72-73
Aṅguttara Nikāya 86, 88 and n
Aniruddha 66
Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa 304-05
Aniyaṅkabhīma 76n
Anjaneyulu, M. S. R. 339
Ankor 353
Ansari 19n
An-shi-kao 272
Antarkar, W. R. 335
Apara-Godāna 124n
Aparājitapṛcchā 169
Aparaśaila 314
Aphsad inscription 148, 213, 281
Apsaras 143, 168n
Apte 255
Apte, K. V. 330
Arab 137n
Arabia 37
Arail, Arayal 133
Arakan 248; *era* 288
Ārammi-rājya 106
Araṇipadra 298-99
Āraṇyaka 50
Arapacana 47-48
Aravamuthan 248
Arayal 133
Arcot District 298-99
Ardhanārīśvara 24, 26, 251-52
Ardochsho 163n
Arhat 49, 151, 185, 188-89, 191-92
Arikesarin II 73
Arjuna 216, 270
Arrah 350
Arrian 128n, 250
Arthaśāstra 179, 244, 255, 268, 271-72, 282
arthavyakti 205
Aruṇoda 125
Ārya 33, 49, 67, 117-18, 183, 254
Āryabhaṭa 234-35
Aryan 39n, 50, 63, 108, 132, 140, 149, 264, 266, 292-93, 309-10
Asaṅga 234
Asia 126-27, 140, 244-46, 249, 272, 292-93
Asiatic Society, Calcutta 1, 15, 182n, 261, 305
Asikanagara, Ṛsikanagara 33
Askari, S.H. 83n, 137
Aśoka 91-98, 184, 256, 273-74, 298, 306
Assam 181n, 258, 267, 301
Assamese 267, 301-02, 316
Aṣṭādhyāyī 138, 341
Asura 109n
Asutosh Museum 165
Aśvaghoṣa 225-26
Aśvagupta 185
Aśvins 276, 297

Atbashi 126
Atharvan 265-66
Atharvaveda 50, 67, 137, 158n, 254-55
Athenian 241
Athens 241
Atika 247
Atkinson 128
Atri 275
Aulikara dynasty 104n, 106, 107n, 149
Australian National University, Canberra 242
Āvantaka 186, 314
Avantivarman 133n
Avarighsa 247
Avesta 266
Avidheya 298-99
Aymonier, M. 352
Ayodhyā 269, 276
Āyudha-puruṣa 121
Babaji, Advaita Das Pandit 349
Babylonian record 196n
Bactria 245
Badarik-āśrama 128
Bag, Amulya Kumar 327
Bagchi, P. C. 36n, 91, 129-31
Bagumra plates 298-99
Bahādur Shāh 81
Bahal 292
Bahubhuk 185
Bahuśrutīya 186, 314
Baigram 134
Bailey, H. W. 318
Bairat 69
Baithana 206
Bajpai, K. D. 338
Bajpeyi, Sm. Kalyani 355
Bakhra 284
Bālacandra 184
Bālacarita 181
Bālambhaṭṭa 310
Balamitra 185
Balarāmadāsa 351
Balban 77
Bali 172-73, 175, 178
Bali, Amar Nath 318
Balibhīma 297
Bālikā 280
Ballālasena 22, 304-05
Balotra 278
Baluchistan 58, 293
Bāṇa 212, 215-16, 219, 269, 298-99
Bāṇa (demon king) 255-56
Banaras 357; *Hindu University* 341, 344, 355, 358
Bāṇāsurkā *Gaḍh* 256
Banda District (U.P.) 146
Bandhula 87
Bandhuvarman 104, 147, 223
Bandyopadhyay, S. 162, 239, 241, 243-44, 246, 248, 251, 253, 255-56, 258, 260-63, 265-67, 269, 271, 273, 278, 281-82, 284-86, 289-90, 358-59
Bandyopadhyay, Sm. A. 249, 273, 282
Bandyopadhyay, Sm. Madhabi 355
Bandyopadhyay, Sm. S. 278, 287
Bandyopadhyay, Sunil 182, 183n
Banerjea J. N. 132n, 160 and n, 162n, 163n, 272
Banerjee, B. N. 359
Banerjee, N. R. 298-94
Banerjee, P. 328
Banerji, Adris 130
Banerji, P. 162n
Banerji, Pramathanath 350
Banerji, R. D. 142n
Banerji, S. C. 305
Bangadh 257
Bangalore University 358
Bantay Srei 353
Bapat, G. V. 330
Baphuon 353
Bappadeva 160
Bappa Rāval 131
Bappasvāmin 106

Barabar hill 239
Bargarh 75
Barhut (Bharhut) 96, 273
Barmaṇa (family name) 303
Barman, K. C. 23, 24 and n
Baroda 280
Barth, Auguste 352
Barua, B. M. 18n, 91n, 94n
Barua, P. R. 330
Barua, Sudhir 336
Basadh, Basarh 103, 257, 284
Basātin-ul-uns 83
Basava 312-13
Basaveśvara 313
Basham, A. L. 108, 242-44, 356
Basu, S. 339
Baṭu 17 and n, 18n
Baṭuka 160
Bayon 353
Beal 98n, 226, 234n, 318
Bedekar, V. M. 331
Beck, Brenda E. F. 336
Begr, C. C. 339
Beid (Veda) 4
Belabhadra 17
Belaganj 256, 269
Belava copper-plate inscription 22
Belgium 356
Belvalkar 344
Benares (Banaras) 177, 191
Bendall 226
Bennākarpara-bhāga 106
Berar 222
Bergaigne, Abel 352
Berhampore 349-50
Besnagar 121
Betai, R. S. 331
Beteille, Andra 318
Bettigo range 259
Bettigoi people 259
Bhadanta 186
Bhaddasāla Jātaka 87-88
Bhadra 186
Bhadrānanda 185
Bhadrapālita 186
Bhadrāśva 124n, 125
Bhadrāyanīya School 206, 210
Bhagalpur University 355
Bhagasubala 185
Bhagavadgītā 11, 13
Bhāgavatapurāṇa 14-15, 125n, 144, 181, 282, 341
Bhāgavata Vaiṣṇava 147
Bhagvānlāl, Bhagwanlal 82, 194, 196n, 197n, 205n
Bhagvat, Durga 330
Bhairava 158, 160-61
Bhaiṣajyaguru 37n
Bhāmaha 138
Bhandarkar, D. R. 101, 117-21, 142n, 148n, 162 and n, 349
Bhandarkar, R. G. 172n, 179n, 194, 208, 261-62, 299
Bhāṇḍāgārika 87-88
Bharadvāja 189-90, 263-64
Bharata 68, 124 and n, 204n
Bharhut 96, 239-40, 245, 272; *inscriptions* 272
Bharṣa 185
Bhartṛdāman 300
Bhartṛhari 240
Bhāsa 181
Bhāskarācārya, N. 225n
Bhāskaravarman 281, 302
Bhāsvat 162n
Bhatt, B. N. 334
Bhatt, H. 335
Bhaṭṭācārya, C. V. B. 296
Bhaṭṭācārya, Rāmakṛṣṇa 306
Bhattacharyya, Amitabha 171n
Bhattacharyya, A. K. 327-28
Bhattacharya, B. 304-05
Bhattacharya, B. 44, 99n, 100, 131, 269
Bhattacharya, D. C. 321, 356, 329
Bhattacharya, G. L. 250
Bhattacharya, K. 324

Bhattacharya, N. N. 239, 241, 243-44, 248, 251-53, 271, 273, 275, 278, 281, 284, 286, 289, 314, 317, 332, 356
Bhattacharya, R. K. 239-42, 244, 246, 253-56, 258-61, 263-67, 273-74, 278-79, 281, 283-84, 328, 350
Bhattacharya, S. 267
Bhattacharya, Saroj Ranjan 350
Bhattacharya, S. C. 329
Bhattacharya, Sm. Jharna 355
Bhattacharya, Sm. S. 243-44, 246, 251, 258
Bhattacharya, T. P. 318
Bhattasali, N. K. 158n, 159
Bhattiprolu inscriptions 62, 271
Bhaṭṭokhar 17
Bhāū Dājī 194, 207
Bhauma-Kara era 135
Bhayani, H. C. 334
Bhāvabhadra 186
Bhavabhūti 149, 270, 298
Bhavadeva 296
Bhāvamiśra 318
Bhavani, Enakshi 318
Bhavavarman II of Cambodia 352
Bhaviṣya Purāṇa 254
Bhavnagar 311
Bhavya 315
Bhavyakīrti 186
Bhelāvar 17, 20, 277
Bheyapāla 184
Bhikṣu 66, 188-91
Bhil 156
Bhilsa 257
Bhilwara 131
Bhīma 270
Bhīmasena 216
Bhise, Usha R. 329
Bhoja I 285
Bhojakaṭa 105-06
Bhojavarman 22
Bholanath 328
Bhopal 345
Bhowmick, S. K. 324
Bhubaneswar 130, 166n, 167n
Bhūmimitra 18n
Bhūpāla 78
Bhūpālasiṁha 77-78
Bhūta 217
Bhuvana-vinyāsa 237
Biddulph, C. H. 300-01
Bihar University 350
Bijjala 73, 313
Bikaner 58
Bilhaṇa 217, 236
Billorey, R. K. 248, 264, 273-74, 281-82, 284
Bilsad inscription 101n, 115
Bindusāra 184
Birdwood 141
Bisham Pal, H. 318
Biswas, D. K. 239, 246, 251, 253, 255, 258-61, 264-66, 269-71, 273, 274-75, 277-79, 281-82, 284-86
Biswas, M. K. 328
Bloch 59-62, 101
Block, E. T. 182n.
Boccaccio 155, 287
Bodhgaya 18n, 19n, 280-81
Bodhisattva 20-22, 43-44, 245, 261, 269, 345
Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā 251
Boeles, J. J. 335
Bogra District 165, 283, 302
Bombay University 351
Bongard-Levin, G. M. 244-46
Bourg, H. de Mastier du 329
Boyce, M. 324
Brahmajāla Sutta 179
Brahmamitra 18n
Brahman 124, 128
Brahmapāla 242
Brahma Purāṇa 144, 251
Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa 123n, 124n, 127n
Brahmaṇaspati 279

Brahmaputra 23, 267, 283
Brahmasiddhānta 344
Brahmasūtra 316
Brahmavinaya 344
Brahma-world 110
Brāhmī 18n, 29, 36 and n, 134, 245, 247, 256, 269, 271, 282; *inscriptions* 18n, 29, 247
Brahmottara 284
Braj Bhāṣā 14
Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad 261
Bṛhaddevatā 276
Bṛhadratha 261; *Janaka* 261
Bṛhajjātaka 303
Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa 144
Bṛhaspati 186
Bṛhaspatimitra 18n
Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya 163 and n
Bṛhatkathā 279
Bṛhtkathāsaṅgraha 243
Bṛhatsaṁhitā 290, 303
British Museum 8, 13-15, 247
Broach 141
Brockington, J. L. 329, 334
Buddha 39, 43-44, 47, 49, 62, 64-67, 86, 88-89, 91-97, 99, 108, 133, 183, 185, 187-89, 191, 265, 271, 273, 276, 280-81,294, 298, 306-07, 320; *image* 92-93, 95, 133
Buddhacarita 225-26
Buddhadeva 186
Buddhāgamasiromaṇi 346
Buddhagayā 91-92, 94
Buddhaghoṣa 92n, 315, 347
Buddhapakṣa 185
Buddha Prakash 331, 338, 340
Buddhasuca 185
Buddhavaṁsa 347
Buddhist 22, 36, 39, 46, 62-64, 91-97, 99-100, 108, 123 and n, 124n, 127-28, 136, 149n, 182n, 183n, 243, 245-47, 262, 272, 276-77, 280, 290, 294, 306-08, 314-15; *monastery* 245; *monument* 94-95; *site* 247, 294; *shrine* 91; *stūpa* 62-64
Budhagupta 148n
Bughra Shāh 81
Bundi 131
Bunyin Nanjio 234
Burdwan District 165, 169
Burgess J. 167n, 235, 319
Burma 28, 248, 284, 288; *inscriptions* 91-92, 94
Burrow, T. 323
Bussabarger 239-40
Cadmus 9
Caitanya 181, 314-16, 317, 318, 350
Caitanyabhāgavata 316
Caitanyacandrodaya 181
Caitanyacaritāmṛta 316
Caitanyamaṅgala 316, 352
Caitraratha 126
Caitya-gṛha 306-07
Caityakūṭa-Jina 281
Cakkavatti 65
Cakra 121
Cakra-puruṣa 121
Caladhruva 185
Calcutta University 1n, 42, 108n, 165, 287, 295, 303, 346, 349-51, 355-56
Cālukya 72, 74-75, 313
Cālukya-Vikrama era 75
Camasa 184
Cambay 141
Cambodia 352-53
Cāmuṇḍā 169
Caṇaka 185-86
Canākī 264
Canberra 242, 356
Cāndaka 229
Caṇḍāśoka 92
Candella dynasty 299
Caṇḍeśvara 77-78, 79n, 80-81, 83, 305
Caṇḍī 44
Caṇḍidāsa 351

Candracitra 276
Candra dynasty (Arakan) 248
Candra dynasty (E. Bengal) 274-75
Candra era 238
Candragomin 186
Candragupta 218
Candragupta Maurya 133n, 148, 184, 252, 256
Candragupta I 116n
Candragupta II Vikramāditya 101 and n, 102, 104n, 107 and n, 114 and n, 115, 116-17, 145-47, 149, 230, 286
Candrakṣama 151
Candraprabha 146-51, 286
Candrapāla 184
Candrasena 185
Candraśobha 185
Candra-Vaṅga 275
Cariyāpiṭaka 347
Carlleyle 69-70
Carmichael 355, 358
Caṣṭana 193-96, 202, 204, 206, 228, 248
Caturbhuja 24
Caturdaś-devatā 297
Causat Yoginī temples 130
Cauthiyā 277
Cedi 282-83; *era* 247
Cella 146 and n, 151, 286
Celū 146
Cetasādevī 257
Chadwick, John 323
Chakrabarti, A. C. 248, 286
Chakrabarti, Chunilal 123, 356
Chakrabarti, D. K. 241, 293-95, 332
Chakrabarti. Rabindranath 329
Chakraborti, Haripada 318
Chakraborty, P. K. 248
Chakraborty, T. N. 246, 265, 267, 271, 273
Chakraborty, S. K. 162n, 171n
Chakravarti, Adhir K. 354
Chakravarti, M. M. 78, 81-82
Chakravarty, R. K. 263
Chamba 138, 141
Chammak grant 105 and n
Chamoli Taluk and District 121
Champa 352
Chanda, R. P. 67, 328
Chandeswar plates 135
Chandokhar 7
Chandraketugarh 165n, 257, 260
Chandrapokhar 17
Chaperkai hills 54
Chatterjee, A. K. 152, 239, 241-46, 248, 250-55, 257-71, 273, 275-76, 278, 281-84, 286, 287-90, 318, 324-25, 328, 358
Chatterjee, C. D. 308, 310
Chatterjee, Sarat Chandra 348
Chatterjee, Suniti Kumar 325
Chattopadhaya, Debiprasad 318, 328
Chattopadhyay, Sm. Aparna 328, 334
Chattopadhyay, T. 324
Chaudhuri, J. B. 305
Chaudhuri, Kunjalal 351
Chaudhuri, Rabindranath 351
Chaudhuri, R. K. 79n
Chaudhuri, S. 337
Chāyāstambha inscription 298
Chemparathy, George 323, 331, 339
Chhoti Sadri 147
Chi, R. S. Y. 318
Chihkuang 38
Chin Hills District 28, 284, 288
Chinese 36n, 38-39, 41-43, 46, 48-49, 91-94, 98-99, 163, 240, 262, 278, 302; *inscription* 94; *monk* 91
Ching-yu era 38
Chinsura 13
Chirand 257
Chitorgarh 131
Choudhary, R. K. 85, 318

Chowdhary, S. M. 294
Chowdhury, K. A. 327
Christ 130-31, 241
Chuadanga 351
Chunekar, K. C. 318
Cīna 278, 302
Cīna-kkanakam 278
Cintra inscription 233n
Citāhastī 265
Citravarman 105-06
Clark, Grahame 318
Clauson, Gerard 323
Cleveland Museum 280
Coedes, George 284, 352-54
Cola 131, 185, 301, 308-09
Colebrooke 51
Columbia 239
Comilla 315
Constantine (Roman emperor) 241
Coomaraswamy 93n, 256, 272, 307
Coormoon 165, 171n
Cophen river 128
Cordier, H. 319
Costard, R. G. 8-9, 11
Cousens 311
Cowell 92n
Cūla-Goma 30, 32, 35-36, 247, 275
Cūlavaṁsa 243
Cullakaliṅga Jātaka 87-88
Cundā 44
Cunningham, Alexander 18n, 19n, 91 and n, 94 and n, 133, 163n
Cuttack 72, 75n, 343
Cymbeline 155, 287
Czuma, Stanislaw 280
Dabarkot 54
Dacca 182n; District 280; Museum 159
Dadhīca, Dadhīci 275-76
Dadhikarṇa (Nāga) 229
Dadhyañc 276
Daivarāti 261
Dakhiṇāpathesara 210n
Dakṣamitrā 228
Dakṣiṇāpatha 35
Dāmodara 266
Dāmodaragupta 162
Dāmodara-paṇḍita 317
Damodarpur 277
Dāmodara Svarūpa 317
Dānabhadra 185
Dānakalpataru 304
Dānakelikaumudī 181
Dānasāgara 305
Daṇḍa 120-21
Dandekar, R. N. 323
Daṇḍin 204-06, 219, 222
Dange, S. A. 331, 335
Dani, A. H. 275, 330
Dantidurga 34n
Dantivarman II (Dantidurga)
Dantivarman Pallava 34n
Dar, S. N. 319
Darada people 144
Dārā Shikūh 11-15
Darśanācārya, Cārucandra
Das, A. 337
Das, D. N. 329
Das, D. R. 50, 171, 239, 2[illegible] 44, 246, 248, 251, 255-56, 2[illegible] 275, 278, 281, 286-87, 2[illegible] 306, 308, 312, 318,
Das, Sm. S. 278, 286
Das, S. R. 241, 243
Dāsa 254
Daśapura-Mandasor 104 and 230-31
Daśaratha 68
Dasaratha Jātaka 276
Dasgupta, K. K. 158, 239, 2[illegible] 253, 255, 267-68, 271, 358
Dasgupta, P. C. 171n
Dasgupta, Sm. J. 241, 243, 2[illegible] 251, 255, 258, 260, 263, 2[illegible] 267, 269
Daśakumāracarita 143

Daśopadeśanarmamālā 130n
Dāṭhāvaṁsa 347
Datta, B. 327
Datta, B. B. 137n
Dayāvīrakathā-prasaṅga 79n
De, Harinātha 182 and n
De, Sushilkumar 315, 350
Deambi, B. K. 338
Decameron 155, 287-88
Deccan 207, 227
Dehejia, Vidya 323
Dehra Ghazi Khan 141
Deithrich, Albert 330
Demetrius 310
Demiéville, Paul 315
Deo, S. B. 19n
Deoriya, Dewariya 133
Derrett, J. D. M. 73, 323, 331
Desai, P. B. 72, 312
Desikachari, T. 300-01
Deva 110
Devachandra 248
Devacandramittra 17, 22, 277
Devagiri 74, 298
Devagrāma 278
Devagupta 148
Devakūṭa 125
Devamāṇikya 26, 279-80
Devanāgarī 344
Devapāla 184, 270
Devaparvata 315
Devarāja 185, 353
Devarāta 261
Devasena 153
Devasena 247
Devasmitā 155
Devasthali, R. N. 319
Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa 167n, 170
Devavarmā 296
Devavarman, S. C. 296
Devībhāgavata 144
Devīcandragupta 145, 148-49, 286
Devīmāhātmya 298
Devī Purāṇa 170
Devnimori 247-48, 294, 298, 312
Dewariya, Deoriya 133
Dey, N. L. 31n, 128
Dhaky, M. A. 334, 339
Dhammapala, Bhikkhu 336
Dhanyamāṇikya 26, 279
Dharakota 135
Dharmacakra-[illegible]a 90, 92-99, 273
Dharmacandra 184
Dharmāditya 281
Dharmagupta 186, 314
Dharmapāla 184, 186
Dharmarāja-Yama 270
Dharmāśoka 90-92, 96
Dharmaśresṭha 185
Dharmasuta (Yudhiṣṭhira) 247
Dharmatrāta 186
Dharwar 312, 319
Dhauli 93, 285
Ḍhibrā, Ḍhibrāpar 20-21
Dhavalikar, M. K. 325
Dholpur inscription 232n
Dhṛtarāṣṭra 272
Dhruva 194n
Dhruvadevī 101
Dhurvasvāminī 101 and n, 103
Dhūrtasamāgama 80-81
Dhvajaghāṭ 23, 26
Diamouna 193n
Didarganj Yakṣī 274
Dīgha Nikāya 108n, 109 and n, 110n
Dignāga 34n, 233
Dikshit, G. S. 327
Dikshit, M. S. 326
Dikshit, S. N. 337
Dikshit, S. P. 235n
Dilīpa 104
Dinika 228
Dīpakalikā 305
Dīpaṅkarabhadra 186
Dīpavaṁsa 65n, 92n, 243
Dipachandra 349
Dīrghatamas 344
Diskalkar, D. B. 113n
Diti 102

Divyāvadāna 92, 94n, 344
Dinakara 22
Dobbins, K. Walton 325
Doṇa 67
Dramma 278-79
Draupadī 264
Drāviḍa (Dravidian) 302
Drāviḍa-Brāhmī 271
Dubi plates 281
Dudia plates 106
Dumont, Paul-Emile 337
Durgā 24, 26, 253
Durga Prasad 152n
Durgi 160
Durjayacandra 186
Dushanbe (USSR) 262
Dutyār-bāḍi (temple) 297
Dutt, Nalinaksha 314-15
Dutt, N. K. 319
Dutt, S. 327
Dvāpara 187
Dvārakā 258
Dvāravatī 143-44
Dvitīyādevī, Dvitīyā-ṭhākurāṇī 297
Dvidedi, Srimannarayana 331
Dvivedi, Sudhakar 294
Dwivedi, Vinod P. 325
East India Company 2, 12
Eci 19n
Edilpur plate 142
Edwardes, M. 319
Eggeling 82n
Egypt 19n, 140, 287
Egyptian 2, 41
Ekacakrā 154
Ekaliṅgajī 131
Ekapaṇṇa Jātaka 87-88
Elliot, Walter 300
Emmerick, R. E. 335
Eran 230-31, 292; *inscription* 279
Esteller, A. 323
Fa-hien 98n
Falam District 28, 284, 288
Faridpur District 165, 281
Fergusson, J. 230, 232, 319
Ferishta 12
Ferreira, J. V. 335
Finot 353
Fīrūz Shāh 81
Fleet, J. F. 65n, 67, 74, 103n, 106 137-38 and n, 230 and n, 231n
Fortier, Auguste 182n
Foster 141
Fuchs, Stephen 330
Fuchs, Walter 337
Führer 228
Fussman, Gérard 324
Futuhus-Salātīn 83
Gadādhara-paṇḍita 317
Gaḍakhara 163n
Gadhpar 20
Gadhwa stone inscription 115
gadya-kāvya 198, 210, 219
Gaggari 185
Gāhaḍavāla 90, 92, 299
Gahlot, Sukhvir Singh 319
Gai, G. S. 246-48, 325-27, 333
Gajapati 74, 76n
Gālava-gotra 33
Gambhīrapakṣa 185
Gaṇapati 273
Gandak river 59
gandhakuṭī 92
Gandhamādana 124-25, 127n
Gandhāra 163, 245-46, 294; *art* 246
Gandharva 168n, 217
Gandhi, M. N. 334
Gaṇeśa 20, 273, 279
Gaṅgā 128
Gāṅga—*dynasty* 75 and n; *era* 298-99
Gaṅganaka 247
Gaṅgāvākyāvalī 305
Gangdhar inscription 104
Ganguly, K. K. 254
Gaṅgutā 20
Ganjam District 72, 136

Garabo 312
garbha-dhātu 37
Gargasaṁhitā 144
Garga-Yavana 141-42, 144
Garjha 142
Garuḍa 25, 27-28 121, 217, 283; *coin* 146; *stambha* 121
Gāthā Saptaśatī 34
Gauḍa—*scool* 222; *style* 213
Gaüḍavaha 243
Gauḍavardhana 184
Gauhati 343, 357
Gaurīmaṅgala 352
Gautamī (Godāvarī) 251
Gautamī Balaśrī 210, 218
Gautamīputra Ṣātakarṇi 207, 210
Gaya—*District* 17, 18n, 70, 239, 256, 277, 280; *inscription* 232n, 233n
Gazipur 291
Ghaṇṭaśāla 308
Gharzistan 142
Ghiyās-uddīn Tughluq 70, 81
Ghosh, A. 58, 165n
Ghosh, D. P. 239, 338
Ghosh, Nirmalendu 351
Ghosh, S. K. 315
Ghosh, Sm. Mukti 359
Ghoṣaka 186
Ghoshal, S. N. 331, 333
Ghoshal, U. N. 273
Ghsāmotika 196n
Ghulam Hussain Salim 81n
Ghurye, G. S. 319
Gilchrist, R. N. 350
Giles, H. A. 91
Girijādevī 297
Girinagara 315
Girivraja 276
Girnar inscription (*praśasti*) 193, 197, 199, 206, 210-11, 220
Gītagovinda 172n. 181, 316
Gobi desert 128-29
Godāvarī—*District* 29, 33-34, 247, 275; *river* 207, 275
Godham, R. 323
Goetz, H. 132n, 319
Gokaṇa-gadyāṇa 278
Gokaṇa-rūka 278
Gokaṇa-siṅgarūka 278
Gokarṇa 278
Gokhale. Sm. Shobhana 325, 333
Goldman, Robert 333
Gonda, J. 323, 331, 338-39
Gopacandra 248, 281
Gopal, B. R. 319, 326
Gopal, Ram 331
Gopāla II 296
Gopeśvara temple 121-22
Gopikā cave 306
Gopinatha Rao 167n, 168n
Gopīprasāda 28
Gorakhpur 357
Gosvāmin, Jīva 317
Gosvāmin, Rūpa 317, 321
Gosvāmin, Sanātana 317
Goswami, Sarat Chandra 350
Govardhana district 208
Govinda II, Rāṭhor king 213
Govinda III 73
Govinda IV 299
Govindacandra 90, 184
Govindadāsa 316, 351
Govindagupta 101n, 103-05, 107 and n
Govindakuṇḍa 351
Govindamañca 291
Govindamāṇikya 297
Govindānaṇda 304-05
Granthika 173, 178, 180
Greek 2, 9-10, 247, 249-50, 252-54, 298, 302
Gṛhastharatnākara 305
Grierson, G. A. 319
Griswold, A. B. 335
Guenther, H. V. 323
Gujarat 141, 195 and n, 227, 230, 294-95, 310-12, 320
Gulabarai 319
Gulbarga District (Mysore) 247

Guṇāḍhya 279
Guṇaprabha 186
Guntupally (W. Godavari Dist.) 29, 31-32, 34, 247, 275
Guntur District 33, 160, 248
Gupta—*dynasty* 116, 121, 146; *era* 114n, 116, 194 and n, 281; *inscriptions* 193
Gupta, Harish C. 328
Gupta, I. M. 339
Gupta, P. L. 319
Gupta, R. C. 327
Gupta, R. K. 319
Gupta, Sm. Chitrarekha 157, 297
Gurjara 73
Gurumurthy, S. 324
Gwalior 231, 298, 319, 347; *Museum* 298-99
Gwarjak 54-55
Hadi tribe 302
Haihaya Kṣatriya 302
Haimavata 124, 144, 314
Hāla 34
Halāyudha 305
Haldar, Jnanranjan 108
Halhed 216, 356
Hallur 293
Hambīradhvāntabhānu 79n
Hamilton 16
Handa, D. 339
Hanumat 289-90
Haq, Muhammad Enamul 329
Hara 252
Hara, Minoru 331
Harappa 57, 67
Hāravarṣa 34n
Hardy, R. Spence 109n
Hargreaves 57
Haricandra 184
Haridāsa 317
Harigupta 146
Harinarayanpur 257
Harinātha 183n
Harirāja 146
Hariṣeṇa 198, 206, 210, 219, 221
Harisiṁhadeva 77-85
Hārītarāśi 131
Hārītīputra Mānasada 33
Harivaṁśa 143-44
Harivaṁśapurāṇa 282, 298-99
Hari-varṣa 124
Harṣa 148
Harṣacarita 148, 213, 243, 343
Harṣagupta 150
Harṣavardhara 203
Hartman, C. G. 338
Hastināpura 276
Hastings, Warren 1-3, 12-13
Hastipāla 184
Hazra, Sm. Suprabha 355
Heichelheim 293
Helios 254
Hellenic—*art* 245; *society* 241
Hemacandra 217
Hemakūṭa 127; *parvata* 124
Hemameru 123
Heracles 246
Hermann, G. 328
Hetampur 350
Hillebrandt, A. 173-74, 176-77
Himachal Pradesh 141
Himāhvaya (Haimavata) 124
Himālaya 110, 124n, 126, 128, 211, 227; *range* 127
Himavat 125-28; *parvata* 124
Hīnayāna 186
Hindol 135
Hindostan 7, 9
Hindukush 126
Hiṅg Ṭiṅg Chaṭ 254
Hiraṇmaya-varṣa 123
Hiraṇyakeśin 61
Hiuen-tsang 94-98, 234n, 315
Honan Province 39
Hoogly 10
Hopkins, E. Washburn 108n, 276, 320
Hoysaḷa 73, 239
Hsuan-wu pillar inscription 39
Hui, Pitt Chin 336

Hultzsch, E. 232n, 320
Humphery, Christmas 320
Hūṇa 147, 150, 230, 232 and n, 235, 237
Hu-shen chen-yen (Body-Protection Dhāraṇī) 42
Huth, G. 235
Huviṣka 167n, 228, 279
Hydaspes **250**
Hyderabad 29, 344, 350
Icchāmatī 23
Ichchhawar (Banda District, U.P.) 146
Ikhtisan 84
Ikṣvāku—*dynasty* 70, 144, 252-53; *king* 244, 247
Īla-kkāśu 278
Īlam 278
Ilāvṛta-varṣa 123-25, 126n, 128-29
Imogen 155, 287
Indo-China 353
Indonesia 239, 353
Indra 103-04, 165-69, 276, 279, 285, 289-99
Indra III 298-99
Indradīghi **169**
Indragupta 146
Indrāgnimitra 18n
Indraji, Bhagwanlal 133
Indrāṇī 165-70, 289; *image* 165, 168n; ***Pargana* 169**
Indus 128, 140
Isāmī 83
Īśānavarman 38, 150, 213
Īśvarā (princess) 218
Īśvarasena 298
I-tsing 37, **98n**, 315
Iyer, K. Bharatha 324
Iyer, S. Venktasubramania 339
Iyengar, T. K. Gopalaswamy 331
Jacobi 238
Jagadānanda 317
Jagadishpur 134
Jagannātha 132n, **297**
Jagannātha temple 297
Jahanabad 17
Jain, Bhagchandra 330
Jain, H. D. 350
Jain, J. C. 335
Jaitugi (ruler of Māhima) 298, 299
Jambāla 189-90
Jambhala 99
Jambudvīpa 91, 123, 124n, **125**, 126n, 186
Jambukī 90, **95**, 97
Jamunā (Yamunā) 193n
Jana, N. C. 339
Janamejaya 216
Jang Bahadur 68
Jangipur 349
Jani, A. N. 332
Japan 36-38
Jarāsandha 143, 282
Jārudhi 125
Jaṭāpura 276
Jaṭāvarman Sundarapāṇḍya III 301
Jaṭhara 125
Jauhari, Sm. Manorama 308-09, 319
Jawaharlal, G. 332
Jaya 186
Jayā 284
Jayacandra 184
Jayadāman 202, 228
Jayadeva 181
Jayanāga 281
Jayanātha 18
Jayānanda 316, 352
Jayasiṁha Siddharāja 217
Jayaswal, K. P. 81n, **83n**, **142**
Jayatileke, K. N. 336
Jayavarman VII 353
Jāysī 13
Jen-tsang 38
Jessore 315
Jetavanīya 186, 314
Jhā, Ādityanāth 322

Jha, A. K. 355
Jhā, Candra 78
Jha, Ganganath 295, 348, 358
Jha, H. 330
Jha, J. S. 337
Jhā, Ramānātha 79n, 331
Jha, S. M. 331, 337
Jhansi 343
Jinasena 298-99
Jīvitagupta I 148, 150
Jiwanri 54-55
Jñānadāsa 351
Joge-Bulk (Yājñavalkya) 4
Jones, William 16
Joshi, L. 338-39
Julien, St. 314
Junāgadh, Junagarh (Girinagara) 90-91, 93, 97, 315
Juyal, Daulat Ram 344
Jyotirīśvara 80
Jyotirvidābharaṇa 233
Kadamba dynasty 75, 252
Kādambarī 212, 215 and n, 255-56, 343
Kaḍcā 316
Kaḍūri-Gokaṇa-siṅga-ruka 278
Kaḍūripura 278
Kailāsa 125, 127n, 128, 218; *lake* 236
Kailvan 18n
Kākatīya 278
Kalacuri 136; *era* 247-48, 299, 313
Kalaikuri 134
Kālāpāhāḍ 169
Kālapriyanātha 298
Kāla-Rudra 142
Kalaśa 236
Kāla-Yavana 141, 143-44
Kalhaṇa 243-44
Kālidāsa 182n, 214, 222-24, 230, 234, 236, 244, 298
Kaliṅga 29, 31n, 33-35, 72, 247, 275-76
Kalkin 243
Kalpavṛkṣa 344
Kalvapāla-vārika 139n
Kalyāṇamāṇikya 27 and n
Kalyanaraman, A. 320
Kāma 214
Kāmacandra 184
Kāmadeva 279
Kamalarakṣita 186
Kāmaloka 109n
Kamaṇḍalu 169
Kabirajpur image 165, 166 and n, 167n
Kabul 121, 128, 236-37
Kaccha 311
Kamar-i-koh 84
Kāmarūpa 302
Kamata, Shigeo 336
Kamboja 237, 248
Kaṁsa 172-74, 181
Kanakarekhā 155
Kanara District 75
Kanaswa inscription 232n
Kanauj 150, 236
Kanbat (Cambay in Gujarat) 141
Kāñcī 185; *purī* 248
Kandahar 247-48
Kane, P. V. 304-05
Kangra District 137
Kanheri 299
Kaniṣka 184, 226, 228
Kaniṣkapura 298
Kannada country 72, 75, 76n
Kansara, N. M. 331, 334
Kantawala, S. G. 331
kānti 204
Kapadia, B. M. 331
kapāla 158
Kapāleśvara 137
Kāpālika (Kaula) 130-32
Kāpālika-Lakulīśa sect 131
Kapila 117-18
Kapilavāstu, Kapilavatthu 274-75
Kapileśvara 76n

karaṇḍa-mukuṭa 168n
Kara-tan 126
Karchhana Tahsil 133
Kārkoṭa coins 163
Karle inscriptions 228
Karmacandra 184
Karṇaprāvaraṇa tribe 250
Karṇasuvarṇa 169
Karṇāṭaka 72, 75, 76 and n, 131, 313
Kārttikeya 287
Kārūṣa (Shahabad) 283
Kāśasena 185
Kashikar, C. G. 327
Kashmir 162, 236, 244, 246, 298
Kāśi 283
Kāśīnātha 12
Kathāsaritsāgara 152, 154-55, 278-79, 288, 290
Kathāvatthu 315
Kathiawar 195n, 227, 248, 315
Kathmandu 68, 78
kaṭibandha, kaṭimekhalā 168
kaṭisūtra 159
Kātyāyana 138
Kaula 130; *Kāpālika cult* 131n
Kaulajñānanirṇaya 130
Kaurukullaka 314
Kauśāmbī 306, 347
Kauṭilya 179, 249, 255, 282
Kavikankaṇa 14
Kavikaṅkaṇācārya, Govindānanda 305
Kaviraj, Gopinath 309
Kavirāja 221
Kavirāja, Kasipati 181
Kāvirippumpaṭṭinam 52
Kāvyādarśa 204-05
Kāvyaprakāśa 11-13
Kāvya 209
Kedarnath 128
Keith, A. B. 180
Kekaya country 276
Kennedy, R. 316
Keny, L. B. 330
Kern, H. 315
Keśava 216
Kesavā 19n
Kesav-ājuna, Kesav-ajjuna 209
Keśavasena 142
Ketumāla 124, 125
Kez valley 55
Khaḍgeśvara 291
Khajuraho 131 and n, 132
Khaljī, 'Alā-uddīn 77, 79
Khan, A. S. 330, 337
Khan, M. I. 337
Khaṇḍagiri 167n
Khāravela 18n, 30, 32-33, 247, 274-75
Kharoṣṭrī-lipi 207
Khasa tribe 144
khaṭvāṅga 158, 160
Khera (Meerut Dist.) 341
Kheṭaka 299
Khshathrapāvan 195n
Kidārakuṣāṇa 162 and n, 163n, 164
Kielhorn 173, 225 and n, 298-99
Kimpuruṣa-varṣa 124
Kinnara 127n
Kīradeva 18
Kirāta 156
Kirghiz 126
kirīṭa-mukuṭa 21, 168n
kīrtimukha 239-40
Kīrtisena 155
Kīrtivarman I 72
Kīrttilatā 343
Ki-to-lo 163
Knox, Robert 68
Koc people 302
Koh Ker 353
Koṇḍarāja 105
Koṅgoda 136
Konkan 207, 299
Konow, Sten 90, 92-93, 97, 99
Kosala 87

Kosam 121, 257
Kosambi, Dharmananda 182n
Kotah 131
Kothari, K. S. 320
Kramrisch 22n
Krishan, Y. 323
Krishnaiah, G. G. 333
Krishnamoorthy, K. 331, 338
Krishnamurti, S. 336
Krishnan, K. G. 326
Kriyākaumudī 305
Kṛṣṇa 14, 102, 143-44, 172, 175, 178 and n, 179, 181n, 282-83, 317, 351
Kṛṣṇa (ruler) 298-99
Kṛṣṇa II (Rāṣṭrakūṭa king) 299
Kṛṣṇadāsa 316
Kṛṣṇadevarāya 74
Kṛṣṇagupta 150, 286
Kṛṣṇapada 131
Kṛṣṇaveṇā
Kṛtavīrya 162n
Kṛta-yuga 243
Kṛtyacintāmaṇi 79n
Kṛtyakalpataru 304
Kṣamaṇa (*Kṣapaṇa*) 146n, 149
Kṣāntipāla 185
Kṣapaṇaka 146n
Kṣemakīrti 163-64
Kṣemaṅkara 185
Kṣemendra 130
Kṣetrapa 138
Kṣīradeva 22
Kubera 240, 273, 279
Kūḍalasaṅgama 313
Kuen-lun 126, 128-29
Kulācala 123
Kulika 186
Kulkarni, V. M. 334
Kullu Sub-division 137
Kumāradevī 90, 92, 94-95, 97, 99
Kumāragupta I 101, 133-35, 147, 150, 247
Kumāragupta II 148n
Kumārajīva 234
Kumāralābha 186
Kumārāmātya 138, 221n
Kumārananda 185
Kumārasambhava 224n
Kumarkhali 394
Kumrahar 18n, 257
Kuṇāla 186
Kunjunni Raja, K. 323
Kūrmūn 165, 169, 171; *image* 171
Kuru 144
Kuru-jāṅgala 276
Kuśalaprakāśa 138
Kuṣāṇa 54, 118, 162, 163 and n, 245-47, 257; *coins* 162
Kusasthala-Dvārāvatī 143
Kushtia (East Pakistan) 349
Kuśīnārā 64, 66
Kuṭṭanīmata 162
Lafonta, Pierre Bernard 324
Lāhā (Law), B. C. 346
Lahar (Lahore) 141
Lahiri, A. K. 339
Lahiri, A. N. 23, 239, 242, 244, 246, 248-56, 273, 278-89, 301, 358
Lahiri, Sm. Bela 251, 300
Lahore 141
Lakṣā (river) 23-24, 26
Lakṣmaṇasena 142
Lakṣmaṇāvatī 81, 142
Lakṣmī 213, 240, 284, 299, 357
Lakṣmībālā 24
Lakṣmīdhara-bhaṭṭa 304
Lakulīśa 121, 131; *image* 130; *sect* 131
Lal, K. S. 320
Lalitacandra 184
Lalitamādhava 181
Lalitavistara 187
Lama Tāranātha 182 and n
Lamberg-Karlovsky, G. C. 325
Laṅkādeva 185
Laṅkājayabhadra 186

Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra 182n
Laos 353
Lassen 172
Lāṭa 73
Later Gupta dynasty 148, 150
Lauriya-Nandangarh 59-62, 284
Lavasena 185
Law, A. C. 346
Law, B. C. 128n, 273, 287, 318, 320, 330, 346-49
Leiden 348
Leider, K. 320
Leipzig 172 and n
Leshniak, Lawrence S. 293, 325
Lévi, S. 85, 180n, 352
Liaka-Kusuluka 196n
Licchavi 86-89, 190, 347; *parisā* 86-88
Liebenthal, Walter 38
Līlāvajra 186
Līlāvatī 14
Lin-tzu Ta-Ming Chen-yen (*Ṣaḍakṣara-vidyā-mantra*) 92
Locanadāsa 316
Lokapāla 273
Lomaśa-ṛṣi cave 239
Loralai District 54
Loyang District (China) 39
Lucknow 341, 344-45, 357
Lüders 115n, 172, 174-77, 179
Lunar dynasty 276
Lustig, F. V. 336
Luther, Martin 242
Mabbett, I. W. 356
Mabbett, L. A. 320
Macdonald, George 252
Mackay 57
Madālasā-campū 298
Madanpāḍā plate 141
Mādhavendra-purī 317
Madhavji, Thakkar Vassonji 310
Madhu 186
Madhubani 68
Mādhurī 257
Mādhva 76, 152
Madhv-ācārya 75
Madhyamati 185
Madhyāntika 185, 191
Madras 1, 159, 356-58
Magadha 18n, 72, 93, 134, 145, 146n, 189, 192, 257, 282, 347
Mahābhārata 12-13, 15, 52, 123n, 124, 128, 154, 179-80, 187, 216, 237, 244, 248, 253-54, 256, 276, 279, 288-83, 289, 343
Mahābhāṣya 172-73, 177-80, 224-25, 252
Mahābhūtavarman 302
Mahadevan, T. M. P. 327
Mahākassapa 66
Mahākaśyapa 188
Mahākūṭa 72
Mahalingam, T. V. 356
Mahāloma 185
Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty 29, 31n, 32-36, 247, 275
Mahāmeru 123
Mahānāman 281
Mahāpadma Nanda 184, 314
Mahāpāla 184
Mahāparinibbānasutta 62, 64, 65n
Mahapatra, P. R. 338
Maharashtra 131, 279
Mahārāṣṭrī 279
Mahāsaṅghika 314-15
Mahāsena 185
Mahāsenagupta 148
Mahasthan 283, 302
Mahāvairocana-sūtra 38
Mahāvaṁsa 92, 243
Mahāvastu 179
Mahāvināyaka 121
Mahāvīra 132, 276, 347
Mahendra 169, 184-85
Maheśa 185
Maheśvara 20
Māheśvara community 119
Maheśvarānanda 320

Mahī 198n, 251
Mahīdharadeva 18
Māhima (near Bombay) 299
Mahinda 65n
Mahīpāla 184, 280, 296
Mahiṣa 31n
Mahiṣaka 29, 31n, 32, 35-36, 275
Mahiṣamardinī 24
Mahīśāsaka 186, 314
Mainamati hill 315
Maithila community 79
Maitra, Sm. Juthika 355
Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā 273, 279
Maity, S. K. 303-04, 320
Majjhima Nikāya 87, 93n, 109, 130, 254
Majumdar, A. K. 315-17
Majumdar, B. B. 287, 316, 349-51
Majumdar, B. P. 287, 332, 352
Majumdar, H. M. 359
Majumdar, M. R. 310, 320
Majumdar, N. G. 141n
Majumdar, R. C. 18n, 77, 81, 83-84, 113n, 142n, 145n, 165n, 320, 342, 359-60
Majumdar, R. R. 289, 291
Majumdar, Sm. A. 239, 248, 251, 284, 289
Makran 55
Makṣika 186
Malalasekera 123n, 124n, 128n
Mālatī 224
Mālava 104, 145-48, 152
Mālavikāgnimitra 103n
Malda District 142
Malik 294
Malik, S. C. 332
Malla 64-66, 82, 87
Malladeva 78
Mallugi 74
Maloney, Clarence 337
Malvania, Dalsukhbhai D. 334
Malwa 145-47, 150, 195, 230-31, 286, 294-99, 311
Mālyavat 124
Mamluk Sulṭāns 77
Mānabhīta-Dharmarāja 135
Manasā (Snake-goddess) 257; *cult* 257
Mānasa lake 125, 236
Mañcamma 257
Mañcapurī 31n
Mandal, Dilip Kumar 359
Mandara mountain 124, 212-13
Mandasor 102, 149
Māndhātṛ 143
Mandodarī 149n
Maner 257
Maṅgalīśa 72
Maṇicak 21
Maṇikya, Rādhākiśor 296
Maṇimekhalai 52
Maṇinātha 291
Manipur 288
Maṇisena 185
Mañjuśrī-bodhisattva 43
Mankuwar 133-35, 137
Manoramā 138
Manoratha 185
Manu 250, 252
Manusmṛti 244
Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple (Purī) 167n
Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa 124n, 127n, 170, 320, 343
Marr, J. R. 324
Marshall 57, 58, 96n
Maruts 289
Marwar 311
Mashkai river 55
Masson, J. 323, 333-34
Mathbari 165
Mathurā 113-17, 131, 134, 180, 226n, 227, 229, 239, 247, 274, 341-42, 346
Mathurādāsa 181
Matikumāra 185

Mātṛkā 165
Matsyapurāṇa 11, 123n, 169, 343
Matsyendranātha 130-31
Mattamayūra 132n
Maudgalyāyana 188
Maukhari 133n, 149, 150; *king* 138
Maurya—*dynasty* 91, 94, 96, 98, 248, 256-57, 274, 283, 285, 302, 310; *art* 93, 274, 284; *king* 92-93
Max Müller 226, 229, 234-35
Mazumdar, B. C. 275
McGovern, W. M. 108
Meerut District 341, 345
Megasthenes 249
Meghadūta 223-24, 233, 298, 343
Meghanāda 103-04
Mehta, R. J. 320
Mehta, R. N. 294, 332-33
Meru 123-29, 212, 213n, 298-99; *Mandara* 124n; *varṣa* 124n
Mihirakula 150, 231n, 232n
Mihiralakṣmī 137
Milindapañha 108n
Miller, J. Innés 321
Minayeff, J. P. 315
Mirashi, V. V. 297-300, 325-27, 333-34
Mirchandani, B. D. 329, 332
Mishra, B. P. 239, 241, 243, 248, 255, 273, 275-76, 278-79, 281, 283-85, 289-91
Mishra, Shiv Nandan 86
Mishra, V. K. 18n, 19n
Misra, A. P. 321
Misra, B. 135n
Miśra, Jay Śaṅkar 321
Misra, R. N. 333
Misra, Sm. Uma 355
Missouri 239
Mithilā 77-81, 83, 85, 304
Mitra, Amalendu 338
Mitra dynasty 18, 277
Mitra, Khagendranath 350-51
Mitra, Rajendralal 18n, 80, 137
Mitra, S. K. 242, 244, 273, 275, 278, 284, 286-87, 289
Mittal, K. K. 324
Mleccha 3, 80, 144
Modak, B. N. 332
Moga (king) 196n
Moghe, S. G. 339
Moghulghundai mound 52-56
Mohenjo-daro 57-58, 67
Monier-Williams 17n
Mookerjee, Asutosh 346
Mookerji, R. K. 321, 341, 343, 345, 348, 357
Mookerji, Satkari 322
Moriya (Maurya) 67
Morris, John 240-42
Moscow, 41, 244
Moses 7
Moti Chandra 344
Mousikanos 250
Mṛcchakaṭika 256, 287, 298
Mt.—*Gurva* 192; *Meros* 128; *Meru* 128-29; *Nila* 125; *Niṣadha* 125, 127; *Sineru* 123n; *Uśīra* 191
Mucukunda 143-44
Mudrārākṣasa 133n
Muḥammad Ghūrī 142
Mukhaliṅgam 131
Mukherjee, B. N. 298, 321, 329
Mukherjee, D. 239, 248, 251, 253-56, 273, 275, 278-79, 281, 284, 286-87, 289-90
Mukherjee, P. C. 321
Mukherji, Sobha 321
Mukhopadhyay, B. N. 328
Mukhopadhyay, K. L. 314
Mukhopadhyay, Sm. M. 273, 282
Mukhopadhyay, Sudhansusekhar 356
Mūlarāja (king) 212

Mullā Taqiā 79
Multan 141
Munshi, K. M. 344
Murārigupta 316-17
Muruvalur, Pereyin 52
Muttra 344
Mutsuddi, N. R. 337
Muzafar Ali 126
Muzaffarabad 141
Muztagh range 128
Mymensingh 302
Mysore 75, 131, 246-47, 293
Nabadwip 349-51
Nābhāga 216
Nadia District 349
Nag, Nalini Kanta 350
Nāga 145, 252, 257, 306
Nāgaketu 185
Nagaldāmaka 19n
Nagara, Prasertna 335
Nagarjunakonda 76, 247-48, 306-08; *inscriptions* 248
Nagda 292-93
Nagpur 353, 357; *District* 247
Nahapāna 207, 208 and n, 227-28, 248, 298-99
Nahuṣa 216
Naihati 22
Nakamura, Hajima 331
Nal 57, 67
Nalacampū 298
Nanda dynasty 133n, 184-85
Nandana 125
Nandangarh 59, 284
Nandi, S. 328
Nandivarman II 242
Nānyadeva 77-78
Napa 191
Nārada 143, 157, 161
Nāradasmṛti 153n
Naraharitīrtha 75-76
Narahariyatistotra 76
Narain, A. K. 321
Narasiṁha I 73
Narasiṁha II 76
Narasiṁhagupta 148n, 230
Narasimhaswami, H. K. 325-26
Naravarman 104n
Nārāyaṇa 37n, 168n
Narayanpur 296
Nasik 207-08, 211, 213, 218, 220 and n, 227-28, 277
Nasirabad 54
Nāsir-uddīn 81
Nāṭyaśāstra 204n
Naudou, Jean 321, 324
Navagrāma-dramma 278
Navamunigumphā 167n
Nava-Sāhasāṅka-carita 216
Navasari plates 73
Navdatoli 293
Nawab 182n
Nayapāla 184
Negro 143-44
Nehru., M. S. Mohana 249, 273, 281-82, 284, 287, 289
Neil 92n
Nellore, Nellūr 248, 278
Nellūr-māḍai, Nellūr-pudu-māḍai 278
Nemacandra 184
Neogi, Sm. Roma 92, 99
Nepal 68, 77-78, 80-82, 84-85, 136, 281
Nero 241
Nikitin, Athanasius 141
Nīla-parvata 123, 124 and n, 125-26
Nīlakaṇṭha 179
Nīlamuni 244
Nimāi-paṇḍit 316
Nimbārka 316
Nimi 68
Nirmaṇḍa 103, 137, 139
Nirvāṇavyākhyāna-śāstra 182n
Niṣadha-parvata 124-27
Nityānanda 317
Niveditā 351
Niyogi, Sm. P. 243-44, 253, 273

Noakhali 315
Nokjo Shahdinzai 54-55
Nooten, B. A. van 329
Norman, K. R. 333
Nuru-tan 126
Nysa 128
Oak, P. N. 39
Oberai, K. 333
Oḍḍaha 73
Oḍḍiya country 74
Oḍra (Uḍra) 72-73
Oḍraka 73
Oedipus 251
Ohio 280
ojas 204n, 205, 210
Ojha, Madhusudan 342-44
Okhamandal 194n
Oldenberg 315
Om Prakash 332
Osmanpur 349
Ouzegios 209
Oxford 39n
Ozene 193
Padmagupta-Parimala 217
Padmapāṇi 21
Padma Purāṇa 144
padmāsana (*mudrā*) 21
Padmāvatī 23-24, 26, 280, 283, 343
Pahlava 245
Paippalāda Saṁhitā 344
Paitāmaha 235
Paiṭṭhāna 206
Pal, A. 248
Pal, P. 321
Pāla (dynasty) 21n, 184, 185, 280
Palāsinī river 202
Pallava dynasty 34n, 104, 248
Pamir 126
Pampā 73
Pañcāla 347
pañcamahāśabda 246
Pañcamasiṁha 185
Pañcarātragītā 12
Pañcasiddhāntikā 235, 294
Panch-Pahad 133
Panda, Haripala 350
Pandarangapalli plates 298-99
Pande, B. M. 339
Pandey, G. S. 318
Pandey, L. P. 340
Pāṇḍya 33, 126, 300-01
Pāṇini 138, 172, 179-80, 225, 282, 341
Panjkora river 59
Paogaccha image 167n, 168n
Parabhani plates 73
Paracakraśalya 75
Pārada 144
Paradkar, M. D. 330
Parāntaka I (Cola king) 301
Pārasīka 237
Paraśurāmeśvara temple 167n
Pargiter, F. E. 244, 320
Pāripātra 125
Parisuddhamati 280-81
Pāriyātra (king) 217, 218
Pāriyātra (mountain) 218
Parmar, D. M. S. 333
Pārvatī 121, 252
pāśa 158-59, 169
Pāśuputa cult 130-31, 132n
Paśupati 305
Pāṭaliputra 282
Pataṅgaśambhu 298-99
Patañjali 172-74, 178-80, 224-25, 252
Patel, S. D. 335
Pathey, S. K. 171n
Patra, 18n, 20, 83n, 343
paṭṭaka-dhārmika 140n
paṭṭalikā 90
Pattisvaram 159
Patwari 277
Pauliśa 235
Pauly, B. 329
Pauṇḍra 302; *Vāsudeva* 282-83
Pauni (Nagpur District) 247
Pava 66
Penzer 152n, 153n, 154n, 155n

Perianoghundai 52
Persia 242
Perumal, V. 331
Peshawar 298
Peṭavika-vārika 139n
Petech, L. 82n
Pinagara 257
Pipphalīvana 67
Piprahwa *stūpa* 62
Piśācīpadraka village 210
Pischel, P. 179
Pliny 140 and n, 250
Plutus 221
Ponbyed 188
Pongal 240
Poṣada 185
Prāgjyotiṣa 276
Prāgvāṭa 276
Praharṣiṇī 224
Prajñāpāramitā 44
Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya-sūtra 39n
Prākṛtamañjarī 138
Prākṛtaprakāśa 32n, 138
Pramitākṣarā 224
Pramod Chandra 130
Praṇavātman 353
Prāntapāla 138
prasāda 205
Pratāpamalladeva 77-79
Pratāparudra 74
Pratāpasiṁha 78
Prathama-Kāyastha 277
Prathama-Kulika 277
Pratīhāra 281
Pratimā-nāṭaka 118, 181
Pratiṣṭhāna 207
Pratītyasamnutpāda-sūtra 46
Pravarapura 106
Pravarasena II 105-06, 248
Prabhāvatiguptā 252
Prāyaścittatattva 305
Priyapati 279
Pṛthu 285
Pṛthūda 33
Pṛthvī 153n
Ptolemy 193-94, 206, 208, 235n
Puhar 52
Pulakeśin II 72
Pullaśakti 299
Puḷumāvi, Puḷumāyi 34, 208
Puṇḍra (people) 283, 302
Puṇḍranagara 283
Puṇḍravardhana 153
puṇyaghaṭa 240
Punyavijaya 163n
Puragupta, Purūgupta 230
Purāṇārthaprakāśa 13, 15
Purī 72, 75n, 167n, 297, 317
Puri, B. N. 332
Pūrṇabhadra 186
Puru 276
Purūgupta 230n
Puruṣaparīkṣā 79 and n
Puruṣapura 228
Puruṣottama-Jagannātha 75n
Pūrvakāraṇāgama 170
Pūrvaśaila 314
Pūrva-Videha 124n
Pūṣan 51
Puṣkarāvatī 276
Puṣpadanta 146, 150, 286
Puṣyamitra 103n
Qurān 2
Rabindranath 348, 359
Rāḍha 181, 297, 317
Rādhākuṇḍa temple 351
Rāghava 186
Raghavan, V. 323
Raghu 103, 216, 236
Raghunandana 304-05
Raghu Vira 39
Raghuvaṁśa 187, 212, 214, 217, 235-36, 244
Rāhula 186
Rahurkar, V. G. 331
Rai, G. S. 321
Rājagṛha 276, 347
Rājamālā 23 and n, 25-27, 279-80, 284, 296-97
Rājanītiratnākara 81n

Rājasiṁha (Pāṇḍya king) 301
Rajasthan 131, 145, 277, 293
Rājataraṅgiṇī 145n, 163n, 243, 298
Rājbaṁśī people 302
Rajgir 68, 157, 257
Rājaputānā 227
Rajshahi 165
Rakshit, Brajakishore 349
Rāma 76, 148-49, 180-81, 216, 276 301
Rāmacarita 316
Rāmagaṅgāmāṇikya 297
Rāmagiri 298
Rāmagupta 145-48, 149-51, 286
Ramaṇaka-varṣa 123n
Rāmānandarāya 181n, 317
Rāmānuja 316
Rāmapāla 184
Rāmāyaṇa 13, 123, 148, 154n, 187, 256, 276-77, 289, 316
Ramesh, K. V. 326-27
Rammohan 351
Ramnagar 343
Ramyaka-varṣa 123
Rana, S. S. 334, 339
Rangnekar, S. S. 338
Raṇipadra (Raṇod) 298-99
Ranthambhor 79
Rao, B. Vidyadhara 334
Rao, T. A. Gopinatha 158n, 159
Rao, M. S. Nagaraja 323, 330
Rao, S. R. 327
Rao, V. D. 336
Rapson, E. J. 34n, 162n
Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty 34n, 73, 75, 298
Rathikasena 185
Ratnadharmarāja 234 and n
Ratnamāṇikya I 26
Ratnaparīkṣā 290
Ratnasambhava 37n, 99
Ratna-traya 49
Rāvaṇa 104, 149n
Raviṣeṇa 137
Ray, A. N. 338
Ray, H. C. 85
Ray, J. 337
Ray, Lala Harjis 13
Ray, N. N. 171n
Ray, N. R. 96n, 274
Ray, Pritimadhab 356
Ray, Sm. A. 239, 243, 248
Raychaudhuri, Girijasankar 316
Raychaudhuri, H. C. 124n, 127n, 145n, 283
Rea 70
Reddy, Y. Gopala 334
Regmi, D. R. 82 and n
Renou, L. 321
Ṛgveda 50, 63, 253-54, 276, 279, 287, 289
Rhys Davids 314-15
Risley 302
Ṛkṣavat 209 and n
Robert, F. 239
Rocher, Ludo 248-50, 356-57
Rocher, Mrs. R. 1, 356
Rohtak 141
Romaka, 235 and n
Rome 241, 249
Ross, E. Denison 182n
Roth, Gustav 330
Roy, P. C. 134n, 333
Roy, Raja Ram Mohan 5
Roy, S. N. 339
Ṛṣabhadatta 228
Ṛṣikanagara 33
Ṛṣipatana (Sārnāth) 94n
Ṛtusaṁhāra 223 and n, 224 and n
Rudra 120, 128, 142, 158n, 279, 289
Rudradāman I 90, 97, 193-94, 197 and n, 202-03, 206-07, 220, 256, 284
Rudrādhyāya 279
Rudrasena I 194, 247, 294, 298
Rudrasena II 252
Rudrasena III 294

Rudrasiṁha 194
Rukn-uddīn 81
Rūpa Gosvāmin 181
Rupiamma 247, 298
Russell, J. C. 332
Russia 126n, 244
Sachau, E. 37n, 127n
Sada 32, 34, 275
Saddhatissa, H. 336
Sādhanamālā 44, 46-48, 131
Sādhi 19n
Sadhu Ram 338
Sāgara 185, 216n
Sagunī 21
Saha, Sm. K. 239, 241, 243-44, 246, 248, 251, 255, 273, 275, 278, 281, 284, 286, 289, 315, 336
Sahabuddin, M. 324
Saharanpur 343
Ṣāhi 228
Sahni, D. R. 95n, 98n, 99-100
Ṣailodbhava dynasty 136
Ṣaka 24, 107n, 142, 144, 194n, 195, 198, 207-08, 226n, 231 and n, 238, 245, 247-48, 252-53, 280, 283-84, 288; *era* 194n, 195, 198, 207-08, 231n, 247-48, 283-84, 288
Ṣaktideva 154-55
Ṣaktisiṁha 78-79, 85
Ṣakuntalā 182
Ṣākya 67, 281
Ṣākyabhikṣuṇī 280
Ṣālavāhana 34
Ṣālacandra 184
Sali, S. A. 330
Ṣālihuṇḍam 91n
Salim, A. Abdus 81n
Salim, Ghulam Hussain 81n
Ṣālivāhana 185
Sāḷuva 73, 143
Samantapāsādikā 92n, 109n
Samataṭa 315
Samayavajra 186
Sāmba 254
Sāmba country 297
Sambalpur District 75
Sambhūti 186
Ṣaṁkara 186, 216
Sāmmitīya sect 314
Samudragupta 145, 203, 221, 230, 299
Samudrasena 137-38, 140, 314
Ṣānavāsa 185
Saṁyuttanikāya 95n, 108n
Ṣānavasa 185
Ṣānavāsika 190-92
Sanchi 64, 96 and n, 101, 114, 147, 149, 286
Sandesara, B. J. 334
Sandhyākaranandin 321
Saṅghavardhana 186
Sañjayasena 137
Sankalia, H. D. 19n, 311, 322, 330, 340
Ṣaṅkara 186, 316
Ṣaṅkar-ācārya 131
Ṣaṅkaradeva 181n
Sankaran, C. R. 332
Sankaranarayanan, N. 324
Sankaranarayanan, S. 325-26
Ṣaṅkarasvāmin 154
Sankheda 136
Sankhyatirtha, Surendranath 350
Ṣaṅku 186
Ṣaṇmukhakalpam 287
Ṣāntideva 186
Santiniketan 42
Sāradātilaka Tantra 158-60
Sārandāda 86
Sārasvataprakriyā 11-12
Sarasvatī 284, 357
Sarasvatīvilāsa-campū 76n
Saraswati, T. A. 327
Saraswati, S. K. 274
Ṣāriputra 188
Sarkar, Amalendu 328, 356
Sarkar, Ambikācaraṇa 301
Sarkar, C. M. 359